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ABSTRACT

This paper contains four articles that describe the philosophy and outcomes of the Child Development Project (CDP), developed by the Developmental Studies Center in Oakland, California. The first article--"Giving Content to Restructuring: A Social, Ethical, and Intellectual Agenda for Elementary Education," by Marilyn Watson--describes the CDP and its basis in theory and research. The project attempts to make the moral and ethical dimensions of school life as conscious, central, and pervasive as the intellectual dimensions. The article summarizes its three basic assumptions and four principles. In the second article, "Toward a Caring Community of Learning for Teachers: Staff Development to Support the Child Development Project," Stefan Dasho and Sylvia Kendzior explore the design factors of the CDP. Specifically, they outline the components of staff-development workshops--onsite assistance, collaborative study and support, teaching materials, and individual commitment to learning. The third article, "Journeys of Change: Educators' Experiences with the Child Development Project," by Catherine Lewis and Carole Lewis, describes teachers' experiences of CDP. One teacher's account of change is presented. In the closing article, "Linking Teacher Change to Student Change," Victor Battistich and Daniel Solomon present tentative findings of a study that compared 12 program and 12 nonprogram schools. Findings suggest that participation in CDP improved students' liking for their schools and classes and resulted in increased academic engagement, positive interpersonal behaviors, and greater learning motivation. References accompany each article. Six figures and three tables are included. (LMI)

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Why Restructuring Must Focus on Thinking *and* Caring: A Model for Deep, Long-Term Change Through Staff Development

E. Schaps (Chair)

Presentations:

Watson, M. *Giving content to restructuring: A social, ethical, and intellectual agenda for elementary education.*

Dasho, S., & Kendzior, S. *Toward a caring community of learning for teachers: Staff development to support the Child Development Project.*

Lewis, C., & Lewis, C. *Journeys of change: Educators' experiences with the Child Development Project.*

Battistich, V., & Solomon, D. *Linking teacher change to student change.*

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Nel Noddings and Penelope Peterson

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Giving Content to Restructuring: A Social, Ethical, and Intellectual Agenda for Elementary Education

Marilyn Watson
Developmental Studies Center

The Child Development Project (CDP) is an approach to school restructuring that seeks to revamp teaching, learning, structure and climate, and also focuses on changing teachers' work environments. Over the past fourteen years, in collaboration with parents, teachers, and principals in a number of schools, we have developed a program to change: 1) the content and processes of classroom teaching, 2) the ways in which the school involves parents, and 3) the overall environment of the school as it affects both students and staff. For children, the goal of CDP is to help schools become communities in which they feel cared for and learn to care in return—communities in which they are helped to acquire the practical skills needed to function productively in society, and in which they are helped to develop the ethical and intellectual understandings needed to function humanely and wisely. For teachers, the goal of CDP is to help schools become respectful and inclusive communities that support their continued learning and provide opportunities for them to collaborate with one another and to contribute to decisions.

An Intentional, Not "Hidden" Curriculum

Several things distinguish our program from other approaches to school reform, but perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic is an explicit goal of fostering children's learning and development in the social and ethical as well as the intellectual domains. In our view, schools strongly influence children's social and ethical development, both deliberately and inadvertently. Many common classroom events implicitly convey social or ethical messages (e.g., when a teacher trying to quiet a noisy class singles out a few children for warnings or punishments; when the more articulate students are more frequently called on).

In *When Children Write: Critical Revisions of the Writing Workshop,* Timothy Lensmire (1994) presents a chilling and very real example of what can go wrong in a classroom that is intellectually challenging and empowering to student writers, but in which the teacher does not see his role as simultaneously to foster students' social and ethical development. Lensmire sought to create a vigorous writing community in which his students would feel empowered to take charge of

their own writing. The students in his third grade class began to use their writing to exercise power and control over the weaker or less popular members of the class by having them suffer embarrassment or violence in their stories. His solution to the problem was to insist that the authors obtain their intended victims' permission to use their names. This solution was not only ineffective, it conveyed the unintended lessons that victimization is acceptable if the "victim" gives permission, that powerful writing is more important than kindness and civility, and that those in weak positions cannot rely on legitimate authority for help or protection.

Few among us would set out to teach pernicious social and ethical lessons. Yet such lessons are a pervasive part of the "hidden curriculum" in most schools. It is inevitable that in places where society's authority figures oversee the interaction of children of different cultures, sexes, races, social classes, and abilities, significant messages are sent about how our society works and what it values. We believe that it is imperative that these messages be deliberately considered and be aimed at promoting a just and humane society. In the Child Development Project, we have tried to make the moral and ethical dimensions of school life as conscious, central, and pervasive as the intellectual dimensions.

I will now turn to a description of the CDP program and its basis in theory and research. I will first summarize three basic assumptions that guide our work in general, and four principles that have governed the development of the specific content of the program and its five major components.

Three Basic Assumptions about Children's Motivations and Needs

Three basic assumptions about human nature have guided the development of the CDP program: 1) an assumption about human motivation which derives primarily from attachment theory (John Bowlby, Mary Ainsworth, and others), and is also consistent with a substantial body of research in social and developmental psychology; 2) an assumption about basic human needs for autonomy, belonging, and competence which derives from the work of several developmental and social psychologists; and 3) an assumption about the process of human learning which derives from the work of Piaget, Vygotsky, and others working in the tradition of the active mind.

Assumption 1. Children will become bonded to and will identify with a caring school community. We assume that school children will feel connected to their school if they find it nurturing and sensitive to their needs, in a manner parallel to that posited in the Bowlby/Ainsworth theory of the processes by which infants

become securely attached to sensitive and nurturing caregivers (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall, 1978; Bowlby, 1969). Just as a nurturing parental relationship leads to confident children who identify with their parents and are most likely to become contributing citizens (Maccoby and Martin, 1983; Pulkinnen, 1983), a nurturing school community leads children to feel identified with the community, committed to its values and goals, and committed to contributing to it. Thus a central element in our reform effort is the creation of classrooms and schools as caring communities.

Assumption 2. For a school to be a caring community, it must fulfill children's basic psychological needs for belonging, competence, and autonomy. We assume that in addition to physical needs for safety, food, and warmth, children have three basic psychological needs: 1) the need to belong and to feel cared for and valued; 2) the need to accomplish worthwhile goals, to acquire skills, and to be effective and competent; and 3) the need to exercise free will—to do things on one's own initiative rather than in response to outside pressures. These needs for belonging, competence, and autonomy, are not novel; all appear in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, and their importance and relevance in the school setting has been argued by several others, including Connell (1990), Deci and Ryan (1985), Glasser (1969), and Eccles et al (1993). However, these needs have generally been overlooked in recent reform efforts focused on improving children's intellectual development. One or more of them are unmet in school for many children, especially those whose cultural background differs from that of their teachers or classmates. Thus, a second major element in our approach to educational reform involves an explicit focus on helping the school community meet each student's needs for belonging, competence, and autonomy, within the context of a community also focused on learning.

Assumption 3. Learning is an active process of building coherent theories or ideas. Most educational practice in American schools continues to reflect a passive, behavioristic view of learning: the curriculum emphasizes *remembering* facts and formulae, the teaching involves *telling* followed by positively *reinforcing* correct remembering, and the assessments check for how much is remembered. In the social and ethical domains the passive view of learning has given rise to countless classroom management techniques designed to "teach" children how to behave by rewarding behavior that follows the rules and punishing behavior that does not. The seminal work of Piaget (1970) and Vygotsky (1978), which caused a revolution

in the fields of developmental, cognitive, and educational psychology, has yet to be applied in most classrooms. Their work and that of countless current researchers have strongly supported the view that children are searching for coherence in their environment; that they are constantly striving to make sense of the social and physical world that surrounds them.

From this vantage point, we can no longer view learning as a passive process of remembering reinforced associations—a process that is controlled by the teacher. Rather, learning is best viewed as an active process of understanding, of making connections, and of building, revising, and rebuilding ideas or theories about all aspects of the world—a process that is controlled by the learner and is highly dependent on the learner's social and cultural context, interests, and current understanding. Thus the third major element in our approach to reform involves helping teachers develop approaches to teaching that are consistent with an active view of learning.

Four Core Principles Guiding our Approach to Changing the Ecology of Schools.

Given our beliefs that schools do and should affect children's social and ethical development, that bonding to one's school is an important step toward developing civic commitment, that children have certain psychological and motivational needs that can and should be met by schools, and that current educational practices should be restructured to accommodate children's active search for coherence, we developed a framework for educational reform in which the ultimate goal is for each child to become someone who cares about others as well as him- or herself; is knowledgeable, humane, and wise; and functions productively in society.

At the start of our current work in twenty-four diverse elementary schools throughout the country, we found that about 25 percent of the upper-grade students reported that they experienced their school as an uncaring place. We believe this reflects several factors, including: the regimented nature of much school life; the lack of warm and supportive relationships among adults and children in most schools; and the fact that many school relationships involve competition for limited resources (e.g., teacher attention and approval, good grades, special recognition or material rewards), and some children consistently lose out in the competition.

Schools vary considerably in the degree to which they are familiar and comfortable places for children. Our data indicate, for example, that schools with high percentages of poor children are significantly less likely to be described as caring places than those serving mostly middle class-students. Children are often

segregated by age, ability, or language, and this segregation may lead to lack of understanding, resentment, and even bullying. In short, many schools are not caring places for many of their children. Simply on moral grounds this is unacceptable. Additionally, we believe this lack of caring leads many children to withhold their commitment to society or the common good, adopting instead a "me first," "have a good time" approach to life, or even worse, a predatory "no one else matters but me" approach.

As for academic learning, many practices that are commonplace in American schools either fail to support, or in some instances actually undermine, children's interest in learning and their ability to make sense of the concepts, facts, and skills they are called upon to learn. For example, most instruction is segregated by skill and subject, and often aims to have children acquire a specific set of facts or perform at a particular level, with little regard to what they actually understand. When teachers explicitly focus on motivating their students to learn, they usually rely on extrinsic motivators such as tests, grades, stickers, or competitions. Most teachers believe that they cannot afford the extra time to help their students understand the purpose of learning activities, to pique their interest, or to explicitly connect the learning to their prior knowledge or experience. Partly because of their training and partly because they feel intense pressure to cover a set curriculum, most teachers seldom engage in instructional conversations with children, or foster conversations between and among children. Finally, in the area of ethical and social learning and development, teachers seldom feel they have the mandate or the time to develop the ethical understanding or social knowledge and skills relevant to the many daily situations that arise in classrooms, lunchrooms, and playgrounds, and they almost never focus their curriculum on ethical issues. Our project represents an attempt to change all of this. We have developed a reform program based on four core principles:

Core Principle 1. Build warm, stable, supportive relationships. Given our goals for children and the current ecology of most schools (as described above), the crux of our framework and our program is an effort to build warm, stable, and supportive relationships in schools. All of the school, home, and classroom activities of the program are designed to foster caring relationships between adults and children and among children, and to help classrooms and schools become places where all children's needs for autonomy, belonging, and competence are met.

Core Principle 2. Attend to the social and ethical dimensions of learning. A key and perhaps defining aspect of the CDP framework is the purposeful focus on building humane values and the related skills that undergird a democratic society—values such as fairness, caring, respect, and responsibility. All of the school, home, and classroom activities of the program integrate social and ethical learning with "academic" learning.

Core Principle 3. Honor intrinsic motivation. Despite a substantial body of research on the undermining effects of extrinsic motivators, their use is pervasive in our schools (Amabile, 1989; Lepper & Green, 1978; Nicholls, 1987). This pervasive use of extrinsic motivators is inconsistent with a caring community because it undermines autonomy and lessens the time teachers spend helping their students see personal, intrinsic reasons for learning or for "doing the right thing." We fear that the students who most need help seeing intrinsic reasons for learning and for following school rules—that is, those who have not learned to appreciate academic learning or the school's behavioral norms in their home environments—are those most likely to be negatively affected by extrinsic motivators. Yet these are the very students for whom extrinsic motivators are most often recommended. Thus an explicit focus on engaging children's intrinsic motivation and lessening the use of extrinsic motivators is a key aspect of the CDP framework. All the program activities rely on or explicitly emphasize intrinsic reasons for engaging in them.

Core Principle 4. Teach in ways that support students' active construction of meaning. Research suggesting that children actively seek to construct meaning has many implications for teaching, few of which have been well or widely integrated into daily classroom teaching. While considerable effort is currently being directed to drawing out the implications for teaching in the intellectual domain, relatively little has been directed to understanding implications in the social and ethical domains. Helping teachers shape their teaching processes to better support their students' construction of meaning in the social, ethical, and intellectual domains is the fourth core principal embodied in all CDP program activities. For example, all activities are embedded in a meaningful context, address children's existing knowledge base, purposefully engage the social context, and require children to be guided by their own thinking rather than by rules or formulae.

The Interdependence of the Four Principles

Although we describe each of the four principles separately and each has a separate focus, each requires the presence of the others for optimal effectiveness. For example, one cannot build a warm and supportive classroom environment without focusing on the social and ethical issues that inevitably arise in social groups. For children to understand the basis for ethical behavior they have to be helped to construct their understanding of ethical concepts such as fairness and kindness and how they apply to classroom life. Understanding ethical concepts and their application does not imply that one will act on them; children therefore must be helped to understand personal, intrinsic reasons for acting in kind and fair ways toward their classmates. Similarly, one cannot create a stimulating and challenging academic learning environment that will foster the intellectual development of all students without creating the warm and supportive conditions that allow children to risk being wrong or to persevere in the face of failure. Given the inevitable heterogeneity of any social group, it is essential to address such ethical issues as respect for diversity if all students are to find the classroom environment warm and supportive. Finally, the challenges of a stimulating learning environment are likely to lead to significant learning for students only if their intrinsic motivation is engaged—they can be made to perform, but the hard work of pushing their own thinking to the limit requires personal volition.

The CDP Program: The Content of Our Efforts to Change Schooling

Before describing the specific aspects of the program, I'd like to take you into a multi-aged primary classroom of seven- and eight-year-olds in a large urban elementary school located next to a large housing project in Louisville, Kentucky. Eighty-eight percent of the students received free or reduced lunches, sixty-four percent qualified for Chapter I funding, seventy-two percent were White and twenty-eight percent African-American.

It's February, and the children are spread across the room in partnerships taking turns reading aloud to one another the third chapter from Wagon Wheels by Barbara Brenner. (1993). This is a story about a former slave, Ed Muldie, and his three young boys who left Kentucky in 1878 to find some land to homestead. In this chapter, the father leaves the three boys alone in Nicodemus, Kansas, promising to send for them when he has found suitable

land for their home. As the partnerships finish their reading they turn to a worksheet with the following instructions: Talk with your partner about the following question: "What reasons might the Muldie boys' father have had for leaving his boys behind?" They begin listing reasons, tentatively at first, then with more assurance: "Perhaps he thought it would be too dangerous;" "Maybe he was afraid they might get lost." After the children have finished their lists of possible reasons, the teacher calls them together to hear and discuss the different reasons generated by the partnerships.

Then she introduces their next task, to talk together as if they were the two older Muldie boys—home alone after their father had left—and to write a dialogue of what they think the two boys might say. Before they begin the task, however, the teacher asks her students to think about possible problems they might have in the writing activity and to suggest ways they might handle the problems. This is hard work. The first response is quite general: "Don't be mean to your partner." The teacher probes, getting more specific: "Suppose your partner is taking the role play in a way you don't want it to go, how might you settle a difference in a partnership?" Eventually more specific suggestions emerge: "You can let your partner say all that they want to say;" "You could say, 'Well, I kind of don't know if that fits with what we are saying;'" "If it don't fit in one part you can put it someplace else." Having prepared her students to think about how they'll try to work fairly and considerately with their partners, Laura helps them begin their dialogues by guiding them to imagine the lonely situation of the two story characters and the partners find quiet places to talk and write their dialogues.

Again, they begin the dialogues activity tentatively but soon all the partnerships are talking and writing, with Laura working closely with one set of partners who do not seem to have the skills between them to write the dialogue themselves. At the close of the activity each partnership successfully reads their dialogue to the class, all are unique, some elaborate and some short and sweet. Before ending, the class discusses what went well and what was problematic in their partner work. It's noteworthy that problems are surfaced without anger or blaming. For example, one girl notes that her partner just told her what role she was to play in the dialogue and that made her feel bossed around. When asked how they solved the problem, the girl says they

talked it over and each of them got to play the role they wanted. After a few more problems are discussed, one girl comments that hearing the rough spots of other partnerships helps her know how to avoid having things go wrong. The activity ends and the children go out to Gym.

Building from the principles described above, we developed a specific program consisting of five components and hundreds of activities. Three of the components focus primarily on the classroom, one focuses on parent involvement, and one on the schoolwide environment.

Program Component 1. Literature-Based Reading and Language Arts. The component of the program that focuses most directly on teaching for understanding and explicitly integrating social and ethical content into the curriculum is a literature-based reading and language arts program. The selection of books, the accompanying teachers' guides, and the supporting workshops are all designed to help teachers encourage children to think deeply, complexly, and appreciatively about what they read, while helping them build empathy for others and an understanding of themselves and the humane values that need to govern our lives. In much the way that Cuisinaire rods provide examples of mathematical concepts, good literature shows how values "work." For example, *The Hundred Dresses,* a touching story by Eleanor Estes (1971)—about a poor girl who claims to have 100 dresses at home—helps children to see how damaging and hurtful teasing can be. Some of the selected books also reveal the inner lives of people from other cultures, ages, and circumstances as they deal with universal issues and concerns, helping children to empathize with people who are both similar and dissimilar to them, and to see the commonalties that underlie diversity.

The literature program uses "read-alouds" so that all students in the class have the shared experience of hearing good stories well told, and uses "partner reads" so that students have opportunities to build automaticity through reading with the support of a partner. We encourage teachers to lead their students in open-ended discussions of important issues evoked by the books, and to provide structured opportunities for their students to have conversations about these with one another. In talking about how the Muldie boys felt when their father left them behind as he searched for a place to homestead, and about why the father might have done this, the students in the class (shown in the video) were deepening their understanding not only of the story and its characters, but also of themselves and

their parents. Hearing and engaging with the new and different ideas expressed by one's fellow students can also create productive disequilibrium, thereby stimulating the continuing construction of meaning.

Program Component 2. Collaborative Classroom Learning. Our approach to collaborative classroom learning emphasizes (a) the importance of challenging and meaningful learning tasks; (b) the benefits of collaborating on such tasks; (c) the importance of learning to work with others in fair, caring, and responsible ways; and (d) developing the skills involved in working in these ways. Here we have not developed a specific curriculum as we did with our reading and language arts component; rather we focus on helping teachers learn the general principles by which collaborative learning activities foster students' social, ethical and intellectual development and help to make the classroom a caring community. We have developed 30 general lesson formats that can be used over and over in various academic areas, with dozens of sample activities to illustrate the formats.

We consider two major types of experience to be essential for fostering children's academic and prosocial development: peer collaboration and adult guidance. Through their collaboration with equal-status peers, children learn the importance of attending to and supporting others, and negotiating compromises. Children can often achieve deeper understanding of a topic or activity through discussion, explanation, and working out disagreements within a group than they would by working individually. However, because peer interaction is seldom optimally collaborative, benevolent, or productive, the teachers carefully monitor the groups as they work, watching for opportunities to help them to reach higher levels of collaboration, interpersonal understanding, or academic learning than they might have been able to reach unaided. Sometimes a brief question or suggestion is sufficient to guide a group toward a fairer way to divide a task, a more caring way to treat its members, or a more effective way to approach the task and achieve its learning goals.

Teachers are encouraged to help their students think about how to work with one another in kind and responsible ways and to reflect on their success and failures. As the children in the class shown in the videotape were preparing to work with their partners, the teacher led them to consider how they might assure that they would work in a considerate manner with their partners; and following their work the children reflected together on successes and "rough spots." Notice too, that the task of writing a dialogue is a natural one for a partnership to undertake and

that the task is open-ended enough to allow students with heterogeneous abilities to find an optimal level of challenge.

Program Component 3. Developmental Discipline. Developmental Discipline is an approach to classroom management that explicitly focuses on building caring, respectful relationships among all members of the classroom community, and that uses teaching and problem-solving approaches rather than rewards and punishments to promote student responsibility and competence. This program component is the most explicitly directed toward developing and maintaining a culture of caring in the classroom. The teacher works to create a classroom setting in which all members—teacher, students, and aides—are concerned about the welfare of the entire group and all its members. They share common assumptions and expectations about the importance of maintaining a supportive environment in the classroom and the responsibility that each member has to make meaningful contributions to the life and welfare of the group.

We encourage teachers to look at discipline as a way to help children develop social and ethical understanding and related skills, rather than as a way to control them. For example, teachers engage children in shaping the norms of their class and school, so that they see that these norms are not arbitrary standards set by powerful adults, but necessary standards for the common well-being. Teachers also help children develop collaborative approaches to resolving conflicts, guiding them to think about the values needed for humane life in a group. Playground disputes become opportunities for students to learn about the needs and perspectives of other students, and to practice skills of non-violent problem-solving. Further, teachers avoid extrinsic incentives (rewards as well as punishments) so that children will learn to be guided by a personal commitment to justice, kindness and responsibility rather than by a calculation of "what's in it for me?" Teachers focus on preventing problems by helping their students anticipate and plan for them; when problems or unacceptable behaviors occur, the teacher takes a "teaching" approach toward their resolution whenever possible. For example, the teacher and students will try to determine the source of the problem, think about alternative solutions, and try to understand the actual or possible effects of the misbehavior on others.

Several examples of the use of developmental discipline were illustrated in the video: the children were helped to anticipate the problems they might face in working together and they discussed how misbehaviors made them feel; a

respectful, non-blaming atmosphere pervaded the classroom; and the teacher never referred to extrinsic rewards or punishments.

In addition to the three classroom components of the CDP program, two components go beyond the classroom.

Program Component 4. Parent Involvement. The program incorporates two avenues for parent involvement: family participation activities that are coordinated with the curriculum and are relevant to family interests and experiences, and membership on a school "coordinating team" consisting of parents and teachers who plan schoolwide activities.

A central aspect of our parent involvement effort is called *Homeside Activities*—a series of simple conversations and activities that invite children and a parent or family friend to explore important issues that connect home and school life. For example, in "Family Folklore," an activity for fifth-graders, children ask questions to learn about their own family history; then they contribute to the classroom community by sharing some of these stories in class.

These activities are designed first and foremost to support warm and meaningful conversations between children and parents, the kind of conversations Nel Noddings (1994) calls "ordinary conversations," and to which she attributes considerable power for moral teaching. They are also designed with several additional goals in mind—to honor family traditions and culture, to provide parents with ways to talk with their children about school, thereby keeping them informed about some of the issues and events of their children's school lives, to help teachers know more about children's home life and culture in order to better teach each child, and to provide parents with a comfortable way to help their children progress academically.

Program Component 5. Schoolwide Activities. The fifth program component is an approach to schoolwide activities that promotes inclusion, non-competitiveness, and the values of a caring community. When we first began working in schools we were surprised by the degree of competitiveness (child against child, classroom against classroom, and teacher against teacher) that pervades most schoolwide activities in many schools, and so we began to work with teachers and parents to redesign these activities so as to be more clearly supportive of the ethical and intellectual values of the school and more conducive to building community. We now ask the parents and teachers on the school coordinating team to examine their traditional schoolwide activities to assure that the activities allow participation by

all, avoid competition, and respect differences but lessen hierarchical divisions between older and younger students, staff members and students, and teachers and parents.

Since they are designed by the school coordinating teams, with our advice and guidance, the specifics of these activities have varied from school to school. Activities that have been developed and used in various schools include: a *Buddies Program* in which upper-grade students, in the spirit of care and responsibility, meet regularly with younger students to engage in a wide variety of activities such as reading, attending an assembly, going on a field trip, or playing a game; a school-sponsored *science fair* which is organized cooperatively rather than competitively; "Grandperson's Day"—an opportunity for older family and community members to share their wisdom and experience the community's respect and appreciation; and "Family Read-Aloud" or "Family Film" nights which bring parents and their children together to read or watch a film and engage in learning activities.

To summarize, three basic assumptions about human nature have guided the development of the CDP program:

1. Children will feel connected and committed to a school when it is a caring community;
2. For a school to be a caring community it must meet children's needs for belonging, competence, and autonomy; and
3. Learning is an active process of seeking meaning and coherence.

The program components incorporate four interdependent, research-based principles:

1. Build warm, supportive relationships between and among all members of the school community;
2. Explicitly attend to the social and ethical dimensions of learning;
3. Honor and ally with children's intrinsic motivation to learn and to adopt the values of a caring community; and,
4. Employ teaching practices consistent with the view of children as active constructors of meaning.

From these four principles and our analysis of the average school environment, we designed a program with five specific and interrelated components:

1. A values-rich literature-based program for reading and language arts;
2. A program for collaborative classroom learning;
3. A teaching approach to classroom discipline—Development Discipline;
4. A program of parent involvement that brings parents into school planning, and engages family participation in home and schoolwide activities that are coordinated with the curriculum and relevant to family interests and experiences; and,
5. Schoolwide activities that promote inclusion, non-competitiveness, and the values of a caring community.

In the summer of 1991, we began long-term staff development to help teachers implement the CDP program. We have been working with teachers and administrators in twelve schools in six districts across the country. The schools represent a diverse set of conditions—urban, suburban and rural; large and small; and homogenous and heterogeneous student populations. We are now ending our fourth year of working with these schools. Stefan Dasho and Sylvia Kendzior will describe our staff development model in theory and practice. They will describe how we work with teachers, principals and other school staff to help them understand the principles and implement the components of the CDP program; and, in the process, to help their schools become respectful and inclusive communities that provide opportunities for teachers and staff to collaborate with one another, contribute to the decisions that affect the community, and continue their own learning .

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Toward a Caring Community of Learning for Teachers: Staff Development to Support the Child Development Project

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The school change literature has produced reasonable notions about both why change efforts fail, and what processes are necessary and desirable for achieving successful school improvement. Accordingly, it is not the intent of this paper to question or reinvent current consensus about what goes into creating successful school change. Rather, in the service of adding to the practical knowledge base about the intricacies of managing successful change, we will explore the design factors specific to The Child Development Project, which seeks to foster a caring community both as a vision of classroom practice, and as an environment for students and adults in the school as a whole.

As is documented in the final paper in this symposium, our research findings indicate that the program has generally been implemented—although to varying degrees in different schools—and has shown positive effects on students in a number of the schools. However, it is important to note that the staff development process can't be described as a completely prespecified "treatment." While we did come in with a specific program, our staff development design took a pragmatic view of the "intervention" as a *collaborative search* for change, in which we hoped to provide direction, assistance and useful materials. Our vision of how to go about educational improvement, however salient and compelling, necessarily had to be refracted through the understanding and needs of the participants and accommodate to various local accountability requirements—sometimes at least partly incompatible with major goals of the program.

Putting What We Know Into Action

The Developmental Studies Center's mission is to promote children's social, ethical and intellectual development through the creation of schools that are caring, supportive, and challenging. Accomplishing this requires major changes, and lengthy and fairly intensive staff development which involves: 1) helping educators explore broad goals for education, and, in particular, the child-centered, holistic goals that underlie our programs (this might be called *inspiration*); 2) the hard work of learning and internalizing a comprehensive and demanding approach to education (or *perspiration*); 3) helping the schools and districts determine how best to align the program with their particular values

and traditions (or *adaptation*); and 4) helping schools and districts set up structures and processes that can maintain and support the program (or *institutionalization*).

Training of Trainers

One major objective was to create, and leave in place, a capacity in each district to provide CDP staff development beyond the four-year period of the project. "Implementation Teams" were created to become each district's cadre of staff developers for the project. These teams were selected by the district with the guidelines that they include the principals from the demonstration schools and a District Coordinator, as well as district staff developers and some teachers from each of the demonstration schools. The teams received a year of staff development (consisting of a ten-day summer institute and four day-long workshops during the year). They were encouraged to implement the program in classrooms, and received individual support during four week-long on-site visits by the DSC staff.

In the second year, the full demonstration school staffs attended a five-day summer institute and the same workshop sessions that had been provided for the Implementation Team members in the first year. The district team members co-presented the faculty workshops with two DSC staff developers assigned to the district. In addition to the one-year head start in learning the program, the implementation teams had a week-long June institute each year to deepen their understanding, and a three-day May retreat with DSC staff developers to plan the next summer institute.

In each district, DSC gradually turned over to the teams the lead for tailoring the workshops and providing on-site support for their schools. DSC created a book of guidelines for all workshop presentations as a resource for the teams' further dissemination of the project. We developed additional staff development resources to help provide background about the use of the teacher materials concerning the various components of the program

Specific team needs were raised during meetings and communicated to the DSC staff. Training or materials were often developed in response to these expressed needs. For example, we prepared "Twenty Typical Questions about CDP Cooperative Learning" to help the teams anticipate and develop confidence in responding to questions. We developed mini-workshops on facilitation skills, handling resistance in workshops, and constructivism. We viewed and analyzed videos together, and discussed ways of planning after-school staff discussions.

The Staff Development Model

Two Metaphors of the Change Model

We have found it useful to present to teachers the idea that the project will be a learning journey. This metaphor helps to make several points: 1) Learning is personal and unique. 2) There are places on the journey where other people are important. 3) We can predict a number of places each person may "visit" (such as a new vista, an implementation plateau, a slough of despond, etc.), but not when or how often. 4) It is helpful to have self-awareness about where one is at any point, from both an intellectual standpoint and an emotional one; therefore 5) reflective practices (such as journals or collegial meetings) have both professional and personal value. Thus the "journey" metaphor embodies the principles of learning as meaning-making, suggests the intrinsic satisfactions of engaging in the learning process, and highlights the value of a supportive community of colleagues.

A second metaphor, the Iceberg helps to explain the structure of our staff development model (see Figure 1):

- **Workshops,** together with supporting materials, are represented as "the tip of the iceberg" to underscore the point that these are important activities for introducing, clarifying and modeling the content and rationale of the program, but that they are only points along the learning journey and that much of the support for real change is ongoing, i.e., "below the surface" in the iceberg metaphor.

- **On-site support** from experienced practitioners is at a deeper level of the iceberg because it is on-going and more readily available. The presence and availability of such people helps to focus teachers on CDP and provides them with a touchstone—serving as an informational resource or as a source of feedback.

- **Teacher collaboration** can be more frequent and intense than on-site support personnel. It is a pivotal aspect of this design. Based on the model of collaborative learning for students, teachers meet in pairs or small groups to engage in professional dialogue about the program and its implications for their practice. Its goal is to afford teachers continuous opportunities to deepen their understanding and to feel supported.

- **Curriculum/teaching materials** provide teachers with a concrete model of how to apply the principles of the program. Consisting of guiding principles, instructional formats, and specific lesson plans, these materials can be tapped daily in planning classroom activities across the subject areas.

The CDP Change Model

Staff Development Workshops
On-Site Assistance from Experienced Practitioners
Collaborative Study and Support in Partnerships and Small Groups
Teaching Materials
Individual Commitment to Learning Through Classroom Practice, Reflection, and Planning
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Figure 1

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• **Reflective teaching practices**—planning, teaching, and reflecting (the thick base of the iceberg) is where the deepest learning takes place. Understanding occurs through experimentation in the classroom. Teachers obtain the most meaningful and "real" feedback through "messing about" with the ideas, practices and materials; and from the reactions, learning and behavior of the students.

Modeling the Principles of a Caring Learning Community

The design of the staff development plan explicitly tries to communicate as well as reflect the core approaches of the caring community concept as described in the previous paper, namely, to respond to participants' needs for belonging, autonomy and competence by *creating a warm and supportive environment; attending to the social, ethical, and intellectual dimensions of learning; honoring intrinsic motivation; and teaching for the active construction of meaning*. Allowing for issues of adult development, we seek to facilitate teachers' learning in much the same way that we advocate they work with their students. Following these principles is essential—we need to "practice what we preach" both to provide an example and to maintain credibility. In presenting the design of our staff development, we shall elaborate on how the processes used model these four principles of education.

Building Supportive Relationships

We believe that an environment of mutual trust, acceptance, and participation is necessary for optimal learning to occur. It is just as important to create this kind of environment for teachers in a workshop as for students in a classroom. Trust must be built among workshop participants and with the staff developers in order to create the possibility of open dialogue. Trust is hard to earn from teachers, who have a right to be skeptical of the myriad, often contradictory calls for reforming their lives. Since community building is an essential part of our vision of schooling, it is emphasized as a necessary condition for adult learners as well. Each workshop includes a community building activity which: (1) involves sharing personal information or professional opinions; (2) is non-threatening and non-coercive; (3) allows participants to enjoy one another; and (4) is related in a non-trivial way to the content of the workshop.

On-site support and teacher collaboration encourage new associations and work relationships. By emphasizing the value of continuous learning and mutually respectful interactions about practice, such activities as partner study, observation and feedback, co-planning, and issue discussion groups can strengthen commitment to the goals of the project and to esprit de corps at the school.

Social and Ethical Dimensions of Learning

While it would be condescending to speak about teacher's moral development in a way analogous to that of children, there are two aspects of this essential concern of the program approach which needs be reflected in our work with teachers. One is helping to make the core values of respect, caring, fairness, and responsibility pervade the norms of the adult community. We encourage this in a number of direct ways. These values are discussed in workshops as agreements in our work together. We have asked principals to hold "class meetings" with their school staffs (as part of the workshops) to discuss issues pertaining to the quality of the school work environment. Partner study is initiated with an exchange of agreements about how each partner would like to be treated in their work together.

The second aspect is helping teachers to see the social and ethical implications of their practices, as well the explicit and implicit impact of schoolwide policies on community life. Workshop activities such as norm setting and other "class meetings" make this dimension of teaching real at the adult level—by giving teachers direct experience with having their personal needs and reactions affect the shape of the community. Through reflective writing, teachers can then plan how these approaches could be applied in their own classrooms.

Honoring Intrinsic Motivation

CDP staff development intentionally and overtly seeks to have teachers recognize that they have control over their own learning. Participation in the project itself begins with a staff decision to take it on. Obviously the program must mandate some commitments, such as attendance at workshops. However, teachers determine their own participation level in the use of on-site support and collaboration.

The workshops model practices that support intrinsic motivation in the classroom. As is the case with students, teachers will seek different amounts and kinds of challenge and exhibit curiosity about different aspects of the program, which they can pursue in workshop focus groups and onsite collaboration opportunities. Great care is taken to give teachers the opportunity to have choices within activities, to avoid invidious comparisons, to celebrate teachers' insights or accomplishments in a non-competitive atmosphere, and to acknowledge different skills and competencies, in the hope that this modeling will set the tone for not undermining teachers' motivation to collaborate. Thus, teachers' intrinsic motivation is engaged through the exercise of competence and autonomy in a supportive setting.

Teaching for the Active Construction of Meaning

By design, putting people in charge of their own learning allows them to actively construct deeper understanding, using the tools that are meaningful to them. A constructivist approach suggests that learning is context-dependent and based on existing schemes. Therefore teachers use of "child- centered" practices will only make sense to the extent that they are able to fit new practices into a changed picture (a child-centered view) of what they seek to accomplish. There is no "scope and sequence" to CDP but there has to be a starting point, as well as guidance toward deeper understanding.

In terms of concrete practices to support learning, we limit the amount of lecture presentation to a small part of each workshop. Most of the time teachers are engaged in partner activities, small group discussion, watching and reacting to videos, reflecting on personal practices, setting goals for themselves, or planning instruction. Workshop content emphasizes teacher judgment rather than single "approved" methods or formulaic responses. Providing an array of ways to learn—through reflection, individual practice, professional dialogue, input of information through reading or workshop participation—allows each person to come up with the most appropriate entry points, mixture of approaches, pace, and intensity. We also incorporate activities that ask teachers to create representations of their learning, in order to confront contradictions and consolidate understanding of the integration of the program concepts. For instance, teachers design mind maps or build physical models of the relationship between cooperative learning and developmental discipline.

Materials that support the implementation of the CDP program components were designed to scaffold teachers' understanding as well as to offer specific kinds of experiences for children. As such they mirror the project's emphasis on context-sensitive, open-ended teaching for active learning. The curriculum materials provide tested lessons that allow teachers to have some success with new practices, such as asking open-ended questions that probe social and ethical issues in literature books. Teachers can then extend their understanding and apply these practices to other aspects of the curriculum.

Teacher judgment is essential in selecting appropriate activities, and in modifying plans to be responsive to issues of emerging relevance to the children. For example, each literature unit provides background on the issues explored in the story, poetry related to the important ideas in the book, connection activities that can expand on the themes in the book or help students identify with the characters or situations portrayed. The units help teachers to focus on the ethical and social implications. Yet they are not step-by-step lessons—choice is offered about ways to motivate students, engage them in discussions, or do cooperative activities to process the meaning of the text. Teachers must use their

knowledge of the specific needs and interest of their students, and also put their own personal stamp on the way each story is presented. This approach may require teachers to reconsider both their current practices and their assumptions about good teaching, However, given that teachers start from different points, it is inconceivable that one series of steps on a learning path could suit all needs. We made decisions about the relative difficulty of implementing changes and designed the sequence of workshops accordingly.

For example, early on the workshops make a case that autonomy is a psychological need. Teachers are encouraged to offer children choices in their learning activities. It is easier for teachers to accept the goal of satisfying children's need for autonomy in the context of doing schoolwork than when dealing with classroom management issues. Allowing choice is also only the first step toward a child centered motivational plan which might include the use of learning centers based on exploration and discovery or group investigation methods of cooperative learning. Over the course of the three-year workshop plan we are seeking to expand teachers' picture of "autonomy" to include both developmental discipline and a significant reformulating of "curriculum."

Reflecting on Our Learning

Sequence of Workshop Content Delivery.

In designing a three-year series of workshops, we acknowledged that the program asked most teachers to make deep change in their practices, yet we knew that this change must be gradual. We envisioned the three years of workshops and follow-up visits as a "spiral" of learning in which the conceptual underpinnings and the instructional components of the program would be revisited each year with greater depth (see Figure 2). The first year was planned as a year of exposure, experimentation, and getting comfortable with beginning to change old practices. We selected aspects of the program components (e.g., partner work, unity-builders) that teachers could implement with relative confidence.

However, workshop content was not conceived of as a scope and sequence, but rather a developmental path requiring reformations, breakthroughs, backtracking and uneven progress, leading gradually to deeper and more integrated levels of understanding. For example, in the first year teachers consider the qualities of a needs satisfying environment for children. They gain experience with cooperative learning, community building and literature discussions. In the second year one workshop focuses on having students co-create the learning environment by consensually setting classroom

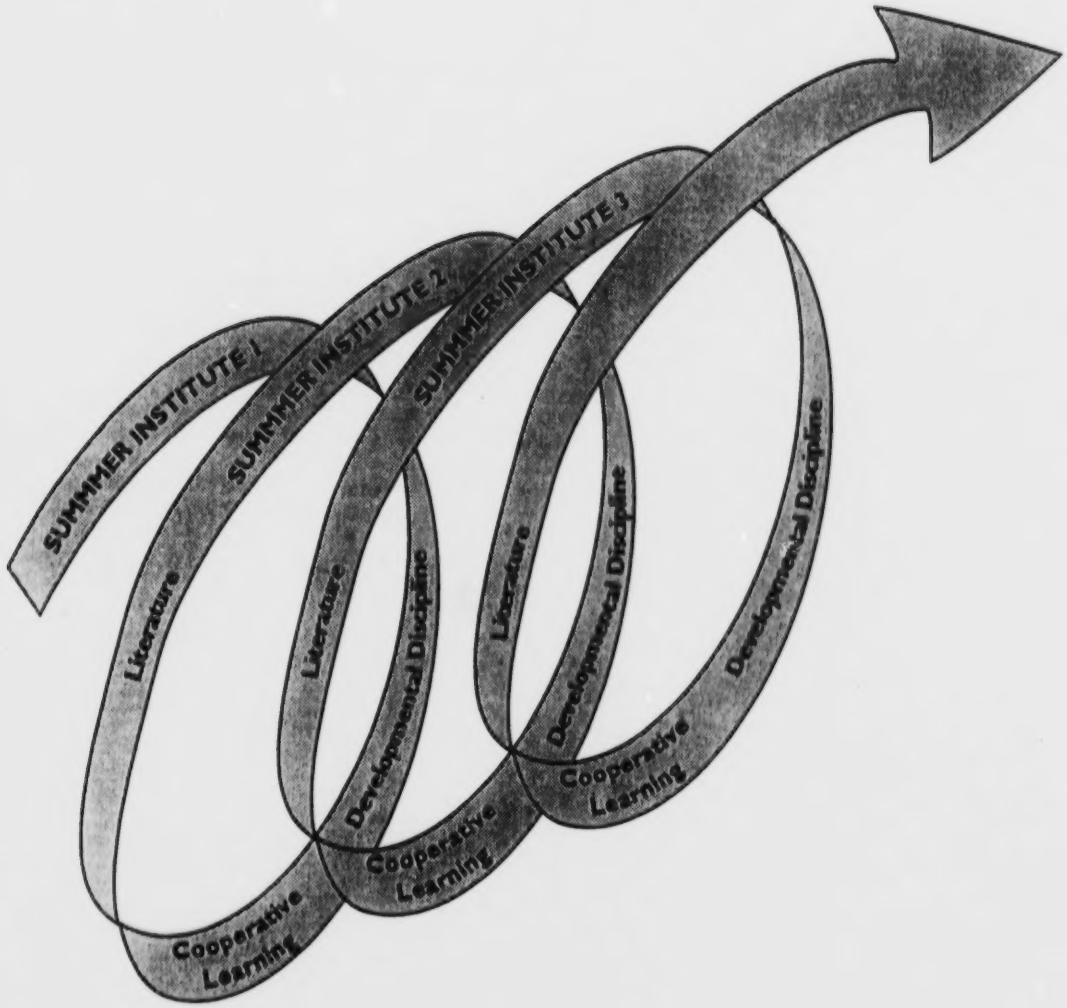

Figure 2

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norms. The suggested process for doing so incorporates cooperative learning, class meetings, conflict resolution, and facilitative questioning. Over time each participant begins to realize new connections among the various program components. Accordingly her or his conceptual understanding of the goals of the project shifts and become more complex. Gradually teachers begin to integrate their understanding of the generic teaching processes that constitute a child- centered approach to learning, which in turn results in more thoughtful classroom practice. This design recognizes that teachers are continually building understanding, so no aspect of the program is abandoned as a topic of work—people continue to explore at their own pace. We also feel that teachers can benefit motivationally when this ongoing work is punctuated by opportunities to be assisted in their understanding by learning activities designed by the DSC staff .

This spiral metaphor of learning psychology is also useful at the sociological level in terms of developing a culture of learning in schools. That is, a realistic goal of a three year change effort is to create a critical mass of staff who are motivated and knowledgeable about the project. Unlike in a "scope and sequence" model teachers who are late in embracing the program can still engage with the reiteration of all aspects of the program during each year's staff development activities.

A final aspect of the workshop design is the increasing open endedness and collaborativeness of the design over time. In keeping with the desire to be responsive to the particular needs of each district, workshops in the second year included choices of topic seminars, called "focus groups." Implementation Teams collaborated in selecting and facilitating these groups. By the third year, presentations, focus groups, and small group facilitated co-planning and lesson debriefings were all options from which the district Implementation Teams could choose in customizing the workshops. The Implementation Team's involvement in identifying the needs in the particular districts became essential to this process.

Onsite Support

By the middle of the second year it became apparent that the Implementation Teams were not providing the types of onsite support we had expected. In many cases the teachers on these teams did not want to leave their classrooms to be available to provide services. Some were willing to "shadow" CDP staff developers' meetings with teachers, but did not feel confident about doing so alone. Others tried to provide assistance but felt uncomfortable wit their peers' perception that they were claiming to be "experts." In some cases, by visiting teachers at the other district demonstration school, they avoided the problem of trying to be, as one teacher put it, "a prophet in your own land."

Since CDP staff developers therefore needed to provide onsite support ourselves, we faced the question of how to be effective, given our limited availability to teachers. One method which proved successful was to work with small groups of teachers. Small groups allowed people to express and hear personal concerns and accomplishments and gave us a better check on where they were in terms of both conceptualization and implementation of the program. It provided a concrete model of how to engage in professional dialogue about real issues instead of the less credible simulation of, for example, co-planning in a workshop presentation.

Additionally, districts came up with their own support processes. In some districts the District Coordinator or principal worked to keep the CDP vision at the center of attention, and regularly checked in with many teachers through conversations and informal classroom visits. In another district, non-classroom teachers on the Implementation Team offered to co-teach lessons in volunteer teachers' classrooms. One district had voluntary (and well-attended) on-site after school inservice sessions in which the Team teachers from the schools facilitated discussions, showed videotapes, or introduced new CDP materials.

Collaborative Study and Support Partnerships

Reflective practice and collaboration are key to site-based change. Neither of these comes naturally to most practitioners or is part of most school cultures. We wanted all staff to have the opportunity to participate in peer collaboration but felt that we had to help schools develop norms that would foster its success. Teachers lacked experienced judgment about CDP practices, as well as skills for supporting each other's learning. We urged them to develop relationships of mutual assistance in learning about CDP practices and related ideas, which would also provide a sounding board for planning and discussing lessons. We called this "Partner Study and Support." Opportunities were provided for partners to engage in activities during the workshops, and suggested study activities were linked to the workshop content, e.g., reading and discussing an article germane to an upcoming workshop, or providing a classroom video and discussion guide for partners to amplify concepts discussed at a previous workshop.

Partner study fit nicely with CDP's core practices. Teachers would have a great deal of autonomy and the opportunity to foster a sense of competence in themselves and others; the partnership could be a model of a supportive relationship centered on learning; and the learning would be grounded in experience, expand the application of the principles of the caring community and allow scaffolding through social interaction. We assumed that partnerships would be the primary form of support for implementation

and that we could indirectly assist them through I-Team members, and also consult with some of them directly during our visits. However, significant numbers of effectively functioning partnerships were established in only some of our schools. We identified structural, cultural and personal barriers to the realization of Partner Study and Support.

Structural barriers were the primary impediment to routinizing collaboration. When faculty were involved in figuring out how to create a viable structure, something workable tended to be created. For example, finding grant money to support teacher release time during the school day, or having partners meet before school for breakfast, or as a regular part of staff meetings.

Cultural barriers sometimes prevented these creative solutions. In one case, teachers were expected to use their existing prep time to meet, but were unable to coordinate their prep times. This structural barrier was removed by allowing teachers at the same grade level to have common prep times. Teachers were often unwilling to give up their accustomed prep time activities—planning, mimeographing making phone calls, etc. In some cases, new practices were added to the "culture" of the school; e.g., brown bag lunches to discuss a literature title with a grade level group, or to share successful modifications of CDP lessons.

Among the personal barriers, the most salient was that teachers felt interpersonally or philosophically disconnected from their peers. Normally, teacher isolation allows the safety of distance to shield teachers from each other even as it prevents the benefits of collaboration. Selection of partners was thus a thorny issue which the principals were given the responsibility of orchestrating for their staffs. Peer collaboration was generally most successful where existing grade level teams incorporated partner support into their regular interactions. In retrospect, it made sense to capitalize on these natural and enduring relationships.

Materials

We have observed teachers using our curriculum materials successfully with a wide variety of children. Some teachers stick closely to the processes as written. Others use the materials as a framework to guide and inform their planning. While both approaches seem to lead to growth, our goal is to have teachers become familiar enough with the curriculum intent that they can creatively choose and adapt lessons and formats of instruction. The main challenge seems to be getting started; once teachers began using the materials, they generally found them useful. Easy access to the literature books also seems important. Teacher are more likely to use the books when they have them in their classrooms than when they are stored centrally. In several districts teachers had to share

literature units within a grade level or a whole school. When we were able to secure funding to provide each teacher with a grade level set, the frequency of utilization increased dramatically. To the extent that they use the CDP materials to ask thought-provoking, open-ended questions and hear the depth of students responses, teachers become committed to developing a facilitative and probing approach to discussions.

We believe that the materials have yet to reach their maximum potential usefulness. For instance, some teachers have not moved their students from partners to groups of four in cooperative activities. Once they do so, the formats for group work will provide extended benefits for their learning.

Classroom Implementation

We used the metaphor of a personal journey to try to promote teachers' understanding of the change process. We noted that each of us travels a different road, given the varied interests and experiences we bring to the situation, the students we work with, the stage of our career, the degree of fit between our beliefs and practices, and CDP's philosophy of instruction and classroom management.

In keeping with our view of learning, we encouraged teachers to "mess around" with CDP practices, test their assumptions against evidence in the classroom, and be willing to reflect on the fit between their practices and their long term goals. Ultimately, we are confident that reflective teachers can use CDP principles as a guiding framework for their teaching. Applying these principles requires practice in the classroom to hone effectiveness, both to engage in trial and error learning and to develop a certain automaticity in response to classroom situations. Naturally, teachers need to see evidence that children are gaining from these approaches. To help teachers be self-evaluative about their practices we have developed a lengthy reflection guide that begins to outline some of the benchmarks of student responses that would indicate progress toward CDP goals. Ultimately, since the program is not a quick-fix approach, commitment stems from a combination of faith and evidence. As A. Brilliant once quipped, "Seeing is believing—I wouldn't have seen it if I didn't believe it."

Reflections on Making a Vision Compelling

CDP tries to help teachers both see and believe. Educators have a rich understanding of the complexities of classroom life. They realize that social skills must be taught rather than assumed to exist; that many children are not motivated to learn by curriculum that is disconnected from their lives; and that cooperative learning won't be successful unless the group members value each other. We have tried to help them see

the practical sense of investing in the time it takes to build a powerful sense of community in order to address many of the aspects of social and academic development.

Doyle and Ponder (1977-78) looked at how teachers decided to use or not use arguably beneficial new teaching practices. They noted that teachers typically appear to make pragmatic value judgments to determine if a change would be "practical" or "impractical." The authors described three salient factors that contribute to these normative judgments: *congruence* with their current beliefs, *competence* (whether they see it as do-able), and the *cost* of doing it. In retrospect, these terms ring true in characterizing our conversations with teachers as we have tried to make change seem necessary and compelling.

Issues of Congruence

Since CDP practices are derived from a philosophy of schooling, we have taken the issue of congruence to be fundamental. We assumed that there was a shared vision of education from early on (because of both the process of school selection and the goal alignment activities done during the first summer institute). Yet, realistically, when teachers made their initial "agreement," they had only a preliminary understanding of the program and its implications for teacher practice. Teachers soon realized that the project recommends pervasive change in behavior and attitudes. While we speak rhetorically of trying to make our practices consistent with our beliefs, few people are consciously guided by a vigilant desire to act consistently. Holding our acts up to scrutiny is an uncommon stance after student teaching days, and takes a lot of courage.

Additionally, we have found that deeply held beliefs about human nature and authority which are not congruent with a child-centered view of teaching and learning frequently surface. For example many teachers believe in the goal of having children develop the capacity to self-regulate their behavior, but also believe they must use rewards and punishments. A fair amount of workshop time is spent convincing these teachers that short-term compliance may not be promoting the long term development of the child. Digging deeper, teachers will discuss their fear that they will have no basis for authority if they give students a voice in the classroom. Despite the risks, most of the teachers we work with are willing to work towards facilitative leadership, but need examples, assistance, and time to work out how to move in this direction. It is more important and effective for teachers to hear from their peers how stickers or points became irrelevant once a powerful sense of community has been created in the class than to hear our logical arguments.

Issues of Cost

Without question, the biggest perceived *cost* of doing the program is time. It is a fact of public education today that teachers feel an ever eroding budget of time for instruction. This raises skepticism about committing scarce time for some of the discursive CDP practices such as using problem solving to resolve conflicts, having class meetings, going for depth rather than coverage in discussions of literature, and debriefing the social interactions in cooperative activities. Other costs that teachers weigh in considering to make changes include:

- fear of losing control;
- the feeling of losing competence when trying riskier practices;
- the belief that test scores, that ultimate measure of accountability, will suffer; and
- concerns that the criteria for teacher evaluation are not consistent with the recommended changes.

Issues of Competence

Existing practices do not, in general, embrace teaching for the active mind. As Gallimore and Goldenberg (1992) have noted, teachers overwhelmingly use a recitation script, and need a great deal of work to move toward facilitating instructional conversations with children. Instructional conversation, in which the teacher tries to explore students' thinking and to assist the class to engage in open discussions to deepen understanding, is essential to CDP components such as class meetings, conflict resolution, literature discussion, cooperative learning debriefings, and activity "set-ups" and "wrap-ups." Teachers have to overcome the comfort of relying on teacher manuals, dittoes, and drills, and the insecurity about leading a discussion without using "right answer questions" in order to embrace teaching that emphasizes open-endedness, spontaneity, and responsiveness. CDP doesn't provide a curriculum, just instructional strategies (with the exception of the Literature units which once again are not a complete reading program.) Thus to make covering the curriculum "do-able," teachers must blend the CDP approach with much of their existing curriculum.

When teachers experience frustration with students—especially students' lack of learning motivation or inappropriate behavior—they often attribute the problems to students' negative motives, deficit characteristics, or moral deficiencies. It is disconcerting how often we hear teachers who resist taking a teaching approach toward misbehavior say "CDP won't work with *those* kids." Too often "those" children are of a different class or racial background from the teacher. We all know it is easier to locate the

problem in the learner, rather than in the learning environment that we have created. Yet is only the environment and our attitudes which we have the power to change.

In order to respond to children with good will, teachers need to explore how children are experiencing the classroom. Workshops addressed these issues of attribution. We designed activities in which teachers examined situations from the child's point of view, drew upon their own experiences as children in school, or heard the voices of children's experience in schools. Nothing seems to move teachers' development more powerfully than the self discovery that follows making an unexpected new connection with a child.

We must also be aware of the pace of progress. Teachers have told us, and we agree, that there is only so much change that is healthy, can be engaged in with the needed planning and reflection, and can be sustained in the context of other work demands. Thus much of the staff development effort has to be involved in surfacing these concerns within the context of an understanding community of learning so that people feel comfortable with their movement toward the school's new vision.

Teachers' learning can come from many sources. Having DSC staff developers do lessons in teachers' classrooms has been one useful response to skepticism about "whether this will work with my kids." Viewing videos can also be very effective, if they seem "real." We have been fortunate to be able to produce illuminating videos that show classroom activities in these schools. They have served to give concreteness to the CDP ideals and to build a sense of pride in the learning and accomplishments that are occurring. The recounted experiences of other teachers is perhaps the most important source of all. When significant numbers of teachers begin to speak of their successes as well as their struggles, they help other teachers to see the importance and practicality of these approaches, and therefore to become motivated to spend the extra time and effort required to incorporate them into their own practice.

Final Thoughts: Defining Success in Staff Development

We cannot calculate the degree to which workshops, onsite support, teacher collaboration and materials contribute separately or in combination to the depth of teachers' implementation of CDP. Our research results indicate that many of the teachers have made significant strides in implementing the program. Certainly, many teachers have grappled with the values and assumptions that underlie their philosophy of schooling. In the course of working with teachers over the past decade, we have helped many to question their own beliefs and the ideas the project represents. We have

testimony from many teachers who say, "I can't go back to the way I taught before." For CDP, the three years of interaction with a school becomes a race to help a critical mass of teachers reach the point of feeling successful in using the educational philosophy, and of becoming passionately committed to refining and renewing the caring community at their schools. How much rebuilding suffices to preserve this foundation in the shifting sands of educational funding, mandates, and priorities?

It should be apparent that there is no finish line in the race to improve schooling in America. There is a difference between quality as defined by standards and as exercised as a way of living and learning together in school communities. It is difficult for staff developers as well as participating teachers to clearly perceive the benchmarks of change. There is rich sharing of stories and anecdotal evidence among teachers at the CDP schools. We think this expresses—beyond celebrating successes—a need to be buoyed by evidence that these efforts are making a difference in teachers' and students' lives. In a sense, the content of the program only begins to be covered by introducing CDP components. The program's meaning continuously expands, with growing awareness and talk about what *consideration* looks like, or what a *fair solution* might be, in forging a deeper understanding of diversity, in constantly searching for a meaningful and engaging curriculum, and in building new traditions of adult community in schools.

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Journeys of Change: Educators' Experiences with the Child Development Project

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Developmental Studies Center
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Section One: Findings from the Formative Research, by Catherine Lewis

Over the past four years, we have interviewed about 60 teachers and principals as they have taken part in the change effort you have just heard described—the effort to reshape their practice around goals of stable, trusting relationships, intrinsic motivation, and constructive learning. The next presentation, by Vic Battistich and Dan Solomon, will describe teachers' changes in practice quantitatively. In this presentation, I would like to describe educators' journeys of change qualitatively—to ask "What did it feel like to make these changes in practice?" Then I'd like to turn the podium over to Carole Lewis, a teacher at Sedgwick School in Cupertino Unified School District, who will talk about her own journey of change as a participant in CDP.

First, I'd like to say a word about the interviews from which I'll be quoting. The Child Development Project's formative research has included regular interviews with most of the teachers and principals on the CDP implementation teams—the local teams that began their study of CDP a year before their peers, and have helped to lead the implementation of the program in their schools. We have interviewed these implementation team members, and a small additional sample of volunteer teachers undergoing CDP, 2-3 times a year over the past 4 years. Most interviews have been conducted by telephone, and have lasted about one hour. A few open-ended questions guide each interview. The overhead shows some of the major principles that have guided the questioning in the interviews. However, we have also encouraged interviewees to raise other issues they believe are important—even if these are not reflected in these principles. In addition to documenting educators' experiences, the interviews have a formative goal as well—to help us shape or "form" our program—now and in the future—based on what participants are experiencing and understanding.

Core Principles

- Build warm, stable, supportive relationships
- Attend to ethical and social learning
- Honor intrinsic motivation
- Teach to the active mind

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Today I'd like to focus on two qualities of the change process, as it's reflected in the interviews. First, I'd like to convey how educators have felt as they've attempted to make the changes in practice described by the previous two papers. Second, I'd like to address the interconnectedness of the changes we are talking about—the ways that children's social, ethical, and intellectual development depend upon each other.

The overhead shows the three major kinds of changes we were asking teachers to make:

- Caring community
  - Warm, supportive relationships
  - Attention to the social and ethical dimensions of learning
- Intrinsic Motivation
- Constructive Learning

First, what do teachers feel as they try to reshape their practice around the goals shown on the overhead? Obviously, this differs for each individual. Yet, as the following quotes illustrate, change was very much a matter of heart and soul—not just of mind. CDP's staff development began by considering the big picture --the ways we hoped to see curriculum, human relationships, and motivation all change over the following three years. Our staff emphasized that it was OK for this to happen slowly and that teachers need not throw out extrinsic classroom management techniques that were working for them until they had built comfort with other techniques, such as building a sense of unity in the class, facilitating class meetings, and fostering close personal relationships. Yet teachers told us the following:

> I threw out all my practices that I had used to maintain discipline for years, even though you told us not to. I threw out the table checks, the stickers, the whole bit. I got rid of it all at once. I'm glad I did it, but I'm not sure everyone should. I really believed in this project. But not everyone will. I spend lots of time at school, hours and hours. Some people are looking for quick right answers, not long-term solutions.

> We were specifically told "Don't throw out everything you've been using to keep order in your classroom until you've got something else in place." But I did, and my classroom fell apart. How could I keep using rewards and extrinsics when I had read articles and was now convinced that they were bad for the children?

> Discipline is a really difficult area for me to make changes. It goes back to the way your were brought up. Not that I want to be like my father, but it's very had for me to make changes in something that's so much a part of me.....I feel like my old ways of discipline might be harming them. I think maybe CDP is THE way....I feel that I'm questioning my old ways now just like people question their old ways when I do staff development in math.

In other words, changes in discipline were not a matter of coolly and strategically choosing to phase in new techniques according to the most efficient timetable. Once teachers glimpsed approaches they believed to be better for their students, they could not find it in their hearts to continue their old approaches. This often meant a great deal of disruption in their teaching, as teachers suddenly felt dissatisfied, and acutely aware of every word that came out of their mouths

> People in my school are excited and they know it's a good program and it's the way they want to do things. But they're immobilized. One teacher said that she started to open her mouth to say something and found that her mouth wouldn't work because she didn't know what she could say. People feel horrendous guilt for putting children down, for doing things in a way that they no longer want to since they've studied CDP.

And another teacher who was struggling to move away from praising and evaluating student's comments, to be more of a facilitator of learning:

> I'm having problems with how to relate to kids. Am I being nonjudgmental? I'm learning to say "Okay. next. Okay, next." instead of "That's a great idea." The classroom teacher has a big burden. You're suddenly so aware of how you're seeing and presenting things. To be totally aware of what you're doing, to change things you've done for 20 years—it's very hard. I've lost a lot of sleep over this program. I wake up in the middle of the night thinking "Why didn't that work?" "What could I have done differently?"

And another teacher:

> Usually you go on auto-pilot all day long and you don't hear yourself. I've had to listen to myself more this year than other years.

For teachers on the implementation team who were learning the program a year ahead of their colleagues, new ways of teaching sometimes caused teachers to feel isolated and alienated from the teachers around them. Despite considerable support

from implementation-team colleagues they met with once a week and from Child Development Project staff, the act of looking self-critically at one's own practice was, ultimately, a lonely endeavor:

> It's been a difficult year. I've always been part of the staff, but this year I'm feeling very isolated. At the beginning of the year, I felt isolated because things didn't go well. I didn't know why, and I just had to think about it alone. Especially the literature was difficult for me. It was never part of my program and the social processing was never there. I didn't know what a good discussion sounded like, didn't know what I was working towards. I would try, fail, try again, and once again things would not have gone according to my expectations. I felt a lot of isolation.

And another teacher:

> I'm seeing the other teachers in a much more critical way. I'm trying not to be critical, but it's difficult. In the classes of some of the other teachers, my kids feel like they're being treated unfairly. Sometimes I don't want to expose the kids to that."

So, change was often disruptive, and lonely. It was also messy. The next issue I'd like to explore is the interconnectedness of the various changes we are pursuing—of constructivist learning, intrinsic motivation, caring community. These goals depend, to a great extent, upon one another. For example, it's hard to nurture students' intrinsic motivation toward a skill-and-drill curriculum that makes little sense to them—and so intrinsic motivation depends to a great degree upon constructive learning. What this interconnectedness means, from the point of view of teachers trying to change, is that they cannot neatly and surgically target one goal and focus only on it. Everything depends on everything else. Some teachers have found that the biggest improvements in human relations in the classroom came from changing their curriculum ; and vice versa, that the biggest improvements in learning or in motivation came from helping children develop good personal relationships with one another.

I'd like to share several examples that illustrate this messiness of change. The names are pseudonyms.

Mrs. M. is an energetic kindergarten teacher who had taught for several years before CDP arrived at the elementary school where she taught—a largely middle class school with a small number of children from disadvantaged backgrounds, in a district sought out by immigrants from many countries, because of its reputation for

educational excellence. Although Mrs. M. had been trained in a developmentally-focused undergraduate program, and believed that education should emphasize intrinsic motivation, she found herself in a school that used assertive discipline schoolwide. Believing that it was important for her to be consistent with other teachers, she adopted it. When CDP arrived several years later, she saw it as enabling her to practice what she had always believed—not just about intrinsic motivation, but also related to constructivism. Despite believing in CDP's principles from the outset, however, she reported that it was still very hard to reshape her practices, getting rid of some old practices and instituting new practices more aligned with her philosophy. In her second year of CDP, she had several very troubled kindergartners in her class—victims of abuse, molestation, and very disrupted family life. One boy, Armando, was extremely withdrawn when he first came to school. He cried easily, and did not want to be there at all. He was extremely isolated from other children, and when he did reach out to other children, he would always hurt them. He bit other children on a number of occasions, and when Mrs. M. called his mother to discuss Armando's problems, she did not return phone calls. Mrs. M. worked hard to build a relationship with Armando and with his mother, and to help Armando build relationships with other children. Mrs. M's routine included many unity-builders—opportunities for children to learn about one another's hobbies, likes and dislikes, etc.. It included many opportunities for children to be involved in classroom management—to shape norms for behavior, decide what chores needed to be done, discuss and understand the reasons for rules, solve problems that came up. Yet, despite the strong emphasis on helping children get to know one another as people, and being involved in important decisions, the real breakthrough in Armando's isolation came almost coincidentally, as a result of curriculum change. Mrs. M., as a result of her study of constructivism, made a major change in her daily curriculum. Rather than having teacher-planned activities daily, she shifted to a "Plan-do-and -review" format, in which students planned, carried out, and reflected on activities of their own choosing. Shortly after that change, Armando's behavior also changed. He said to Mrs. M.: "I love this school." Rather than sitting off by himself, he started to do activities eagerly. For example, he went to the writing station and started to write his name, which he had never done before. He liked to make signs at the writing center. Armando's extreme isolation ended. So, a curriculum shift catalyzed changes in human relations in the classroom. Mrs. M. commented that the shift to "Plan-Do-and Review" gave her many more chances to observe students' social skills, and to help them develop.

A second story I would like to tell relates to intrinsic motivation and trusting relations in the classroom.

Ms. E started teaching just a year before CDP came to her school. She teaches 3rd grade in a small urban district with a mixture of affluent and not affluent students, and a student body that is about 50% Caucasian, 30% African American, and 15% Hispanic. 27% of the student body is eligible for free or reduced lunch. Ms. E. describes her classroom discipline in general, and providing for autonomy in particular, as the biggest change resulting from her involvement with CDP:

> For me, the biggest change is the amount of autonomy that I give children in the classroom. I was a pretty new teacher when I heard about CDP. All my evaluations always said, "classroom control, needs to get classroom under control, needs classroom management." My idea of control was strong arm control—to tell a child "you will do that or you will go to the principal's office." I was told that I had to be tough; yet I thought of myself as a nurturant person. CDP helped me to see that, by turning the management responsibility back to the children, I could help them and also make my job easier. I had thought that I was the one who had to do everything.

Ms. E. believed in the importance of intrinsic motivation, both for learning and for behavior. She worked hard to increase the amount of autonomy she gave students, so that they would truly feel committed to their learning and to responsible behavior. Yet, by her account, it didn't quite work. She says:

> At first when I started trying to give kids autonomy they weren't used to having responsibility and they abused it. I would get angry and tell them that they weren't able to take responsibility and then I would pull back giving them responsibility.
>
> But then I realized that it would take time to talk about how the class needed to be if they were really going to take responsibility for it. So we began to talk about what needed to be done in the classroom and what kind of class we wanted to be. And yet, my input into the discussion was very strong. And then one day, about two months into the school year, we were having a discussion about how we wanted to run the class, and Maggie spoke up and said, "You ask us what we want to do and we tell you and then you say, 'no, no, no, we can't do that.'" That little Maggie made me realize that I wasn't really giving them responsibility and then I realized that I had to take the plunge. My grandmother always said, if you

ask a question, you better be ready to deal with the answer. So I recognized that I had to show them that I really respected their voice. There was a tremendous change in the classroom after that. If the students said they wanted to study birds instead of fish, then I would help facilitate it. They came to feel that they were really listened to. Their responsibilities grew from the little aspects of the daily basic routine to the real meat of what was going on in the classroom. Maggie had hit the nail right on the head. What I was doing was half-stepping. I was saying that I wanted to give them responsibility, but not really giving them responsibility. Of course, I was well intentioned. I was doing it from the perspective of thinking of all the time it would take to study birds or whatever. I just wasn't seeing it from their point of view. I felt that what I was doing was for the good of the class. But the class realized that I was saying and doing two different things. I feel really glad that Maggie felt comfortable enough to voice her opinions. I really feel glad that she had the strength and courage to do that.

At this point, I asked Ms. E., what do you think gave Maggie the strength and courage to do this? She answered as follows:

We had spent a lot of time as a class talking about who we wanted to be and how we wanted to get there. We would talk about what was going on in the class, talk about other things that interested us outside of school, we'd troubleshoot problems. We had been working for quite awhile about talking openly. We could talk about our feelings, we could talk about our families, but when it came to me, we'd reach roadblocks. When it came down to my letting the students make some decisions, that's when all the flags when up, that's when all the blocks came out for me. When Maggie said what she did, I felt happy. After she said it, Maggie got a look on her face like, "uh oh, I really lowered the whammy on myself now." I was taken aback, I laughed. She's a very serious girl, and when she said it, she said it slowly and really measured her words. I sat for a minute, I really had to think and then I said, "You're right." Other kids also had examples of when I'd done that--asked them to make a decision but not really let them make the decision. But they didn't bring up the examples in a mean way or demeaning way, they did it in a helpful way. It was really an awakening for me. But not a rude awakening. I saw it as real positive. I discussed how it had taken courage for her to say that, and how it was really a positive step for us. I talked about how we could have gone around with people feeling that and not saying it, and how that wouldn't have been helpful. I think the incident created a whole

atmosphere of the children realizing that they are important and they are listened to. It opened up the road for them to see me as truly approachable and as a good listener. I've gotten really good at that kind of listening and facilitating now. I've gotten really good at saying, "okay, here's the journey we're going off on, let's think it through. Let's get all the details together of what we're going to do."

So, Ms. E believes that she was able to move from limited experimentation to "take the plunge", because of honest comments from her students and that these comments were possible because of the groundwork she had laid, through class meetings and unity-builders. In this example of messy change, Ms. E.'s efforts to rework the foundation of the classroom, so that it would rest on students' intrinsic motivation, succeeded because she had nurtured trusting relations with her students—trust that enabled them to express, and her to hear, what she needed to know to adjust her efforts.

I'd like to close with three quotes, that express the themes we've just explored—that change in classroom practice entails profound risk and messy interconnections among the various goals of education. The first quote is from Andre Gide, who said

One doesn't discover new lands without consenting to lose sight of the shore for a very long time.

The second is from Antonio Machado, who said:

Traveler, there are no roads. The road is created as we walk it together.

The final quote is from Parker Palmer, who said,

A learning space needs to be hospitable not to make learning painless but to make the painful things possible, things without which no learning can occur—things like exposing ignorance, testing tentative hypotheses, challenging false or partial information, and mutual criticism of thought. Each of these is essential to obedience to truth. But none of them can happen in an atmosphere where people feel threatened and judged.

Now Carole Lewis, a teacher at Sedgwick School in the Cupertino Unified School District, will talk to us about her journey.

Section Two: One Teacher's Journey, by Carole Lewis

In the late 1980's and early 1990's, our school was looking for something that would allow students to become more intrinsically motivated. We knew that stickers and points weren't the answer, and we wanted students to care more about each other and show respect toward each other. Introduced by the district, staff from the Child Development Project came to talk to our school, and Sylvia Kendzior asked our staff: "What qualities would you like your students to have when they are adults?" Everyone wrote down on pieces of paper what qualities they wanted their students to have 20 years from now, and things like caring, responsible, happy, competent stood out from everything else. Nobody put things like know their adverbs. That made us think about what we were doing and how it connected with our long-term goals. And we have also used this activity with parents when introducing them to the Child Development Project.

Our journey began in the summer of 1991. A team of about 10 of us from Cupertino—teachers, principals and administrators—spent 10 days in Berkeley, trying out the techniques we would soon be using to build bonds within our classrooms. Of course these techniques also built bonds within our Cupertino team, and to the five other teams from across the country. I remember a Hayward educator who had experienced CDP who spoke to us at lunch one day about the peaks and valleys we would go through on this journey, and at that time I thought "how could there ever be any valleys, this is going to be so exciting, I'll just jump from peak to peak." We headed back to school with binders full of ideas and heads full of questions and adrenaline ready to go. I jumped into the deep end just as I had when I learned how to swim. (My mother reminds me that as a little girl who didn't yet know how to swim, I jumped into the deep end, thinking that's where I would learn to swim.) And so I gave away too many of the old tools I had used to keep order, and gave the students too much autonomy and hit my first valley. I was so grateful that the staff developers from CDP were there, in my school, to make follow-up visits after the workshops. And a few months later I started all over again trying to put CDP into practice, as if it was September—but now it was November. This time, I started with some of the old tools that I knew would work: lining up in quiet, straight lines, table points. I used these for about a week and asked students: Do we need these? What kind of decisions do we need to make as a class if we want to function without table points and the rest of the

old tools? I put up a chart of the old tools and new tools, and let students know I was trying to learn a new kind of classroom management.

The first year I was in constant inner turmoil. I knew what I wanted to do, but I didn't know how to do it. It led to so much personal growth. I knew CDP was right and I knew it was right for me. But it was constant turmoil, the turmoil being how did it fit in with the district goals, how did it fit in with curriculum, how was I going to get everything done? What I noticed through this journey is that when I would say something that hurt or embarrassed a student, what I said would hang out over my head like a cartoon bubble. It allowed me to edit and correct it with the student. Sometimes I would do this on an individual basis or sometimes I would do it in front of the class to allow them to see that I was learning too and that I needed to apologize for something that had happened. They knew at the beginning that I was trying some new things and that it would be a new experience for me.

I feel that this program worked because of the staff development, peer coaching with the DSC staff, and weekly partner study and support with the principal and two other teachers at my school on the CDP team. More than any meeting I've ever had, I was always there at 7:45 Wednesday morning because I needed it and the others needed it and we shared our peaks and valleys. The program worked because of the support of the administrator in the building to try these things, the ability to risk. And also because of the support from DSC—knowing that they were there if we had questions.

Throughout the next four years, in workshops and partner study we repeatedly visited developmental discipline, constructivism, literature-based reading,—those were the basic issues. And we visited and revisited autonomy, belonging and competence—how we can meet those needs of our students. Again partner study and support with our colleagues was needed. Those of us who were on the original team presented information to our staff and our parents, thereby internalizing it more for ourselves and doing a lot of growth as a result. The support from DSC was still there. Peer coaching began within our own staff as well as with DSC staff and I began a lot of class meetings within my classroom. Something I appreciated from DSC was that they modeled what they said to do. In other words, it wasn't a lecture approach. They had us get to know each other. They had us do activities that created a sense of unity among us. They let us experience what we needed to create in the classroom. They weren't just "do as I say, not as I do." It was "do as I do." Now I hear myself saying to students a lot, "How can I help you?" "What would you like me to do?" Previously, I would have been saying, "Why did you do that?" Now I know it's okay when a lesson bombs because it's

growth and it's learning. I don't feel guilty. Just as students can learn from their mistakes, teachers can. Another change is that now, if there's an issue with a student, I don't tend to blame the student. I don't huff around and say, "Oh that kid, this and that, the parents don't care, the kid doesn't care." I really try to look for what's going on with that student in his or her life. Again, I let my students in on my feelings and I don't give up. It feels like "our classroom" rather than "my classroom" and that's been a change over the past 4 years. I could never go back to having it be just my classroom. How do we want it to be? We also talk about, when assignments are made, what would an "A" report look like. And the children give input, and they have done higher quality work than I have ever seen before because they had input and they understood each thing, what it meant.

There is still, within our whole staff, turmoil with the current evaluation system, including report cards and standardized testing because it does not evaluate or test what we feel is important for students to know for the world they will live in. We will probably be reconsidering our report cards. I don't know what can be done about standardized testing, except we keep giving input into whatever committee we're on, whether it's math and science or language arts/social studies.

We're beginning to see the need for more self-contained classrooms and I'm speaking particularly about upper grades where we used to rotate kids around. But now we know the importance having students feel belonging to a classroom. I don't know how this is going to go, but I see the beginnings of wanting to do thematic teaching and making things connected so that science is not disconnected from math, so that all these things have an inner connection. I see staff wanting to learn how to do that. I see the staff, in every area of the curriculum, looking at the constructivist approach--it started with literature discussions and went easily into science and now we're addressing the math framework. Constructivism is being taken into everything. The change is: we are thinking about how students learn rather than just thinking "why don't they get it?" Now we think about things like "what can I do to help them get it?" "How many different ways can I approach this?" and "Is this information really necessary?"

If anybody wants any program to work, they need to look at CDP's model of staff development—of partner study and support, of somebody to contact outside the school, of meetings in which staff can continue to look at issues. We know that when the study's over we're not going to go back to the way we were before. Now we're looking for models of curriculum, other projects, that can keep us going in this direction. All

schools need money, and so we've been asked by the district to look at some possible grants. But we have to make sure it's a fit with CDP. We'd have a war here before we'd go back to "nice and neat and in your seat." People don't want to give this up. It's not just another thing that's gone by that you grabbed at. It used to be that you took a class, learned information, went back to school and tried to use it, and then you didn't have anybody to contact or the support at school. But now I've noticed that other groups in our district are adopting the CDP approach of study and support by partnerships of teachers—for example, now changes in our science curriculum are being planned by teachers working in partnerships, who plan, try out, and reflect on lessons, rather than by individual science specialists.

In closing, I'd like to underline two things I've learned about change. One is that it takes a lot of energy. As I described, I went through much turmoil as I reshaped my classroom practice. How much energy teachers can devote to change depends on what else is going on in their lives, both professionally and personally. A second thing I have learned is that, even with a whole-school program like CDP, teachers are all at different levels—just as students in a class are all at different levels with any given subject matter. A key to success is a site administrator who can meet all teachers where they are—the teachers who jump in and nearly drown and wade back to shore, and the teachers who embraces the new slowly and cautiously. As part of our CDP staff development, the faculty has invested a lot of time in getting to know one another as people, and building a sense of unity and a sense that "we're all working together for the kids." This has helped us, teachers at all different points in our own journeys of learning, be supportive of each other's growth. Here's a thought to close with. Last year, I taught a combined grade 5-6 class, and, at the end of the year the 6th graders went off to junior high school. This year, the students from that class planned and carried off a reunion; they wrote letters, got all their classmates together, even wrote letters to get donations of refreshments, telling the grocery store proprietors how much they missed each other, with half the class off at junior high. We had a wonderful reunion. In my 32 years as a teacher, this is the first time students have ever decided to have a reunion. The class really bonded; they were like family. When students care that much about the group they've been part of, there's a wellspring of motivation we can all draw on—motivation to learn, to care for one another, and to become principled, humane people.

Linking Teacher Change to Student Change

Victor Battistich and Daniel Solomon
Developmental Studies Center

The previous presentations have described our vision of schooling, our approach to working toward this vision with educators in a diverse sample of schools, and what it has been like for staff developers, classroom teachers, and site administrators to participate in this change effort during the past four years. You have heard that change of this nature is "messy" and "disruptive," and about barriers and breakthroughs. Although all are working toward a more-or-less common goal, different people began in different places, and have progressed in different ways and to different degrees. In this presentation, we would like to provide a more comprehensive, albeit more abstract, description of how classroom practices have changed at the participating schools, and of the kinds of effects these changes have had on students.

We note at the outset that these are preliminary findings. For one thing, the "journey" is not yet finished. The findings we will describe concern changes from "baseline" through the second year of a three-year effort, and from the outset we expected that it would take more than two years for the CDP program to be fully in place in many of the schools. We also are still at a fairly early stage in data analysis—we have focused our analyses around explicit tests of hypotheses derived from the theoretical model underlying CDP, but have not as yet examined the entire range of outcome variables, examined alternative models that might account for the findings, or fully examined the extent to which background characteristics of teachers and/or students, and/or contextual characteristics (e.g., urbanicity, district-level policies) need to be taken into account. For these and other reasons, the findings should be regarded as a "first approximation."

At the same time as we want to be clear about the tentative nature of the findings to date, we should also note that the "picture" that is emerging is quite consistent. Across a variety of analyses at different levels of analysis, with data from different assessment procedures, using different statistical approaches, and for different subsamples of participants, we have repeatedly observed the same general pattern of results. The robustness of the findings thus leads us to suspect that while additional, more thorough and complex analyses will undoubtedly identify many interesting variations, the overall findings will remain largely unaltered.

Background and Methods

Participants and Design

Our evaluation is based on a quasi-experimental design involving two program and two comparison elementary schools in each of the six participating school districts. The districts and program schools were chosen to form a heterogeneous sample with respect to geographical region, urbanicity, and student populations. Comparison schools were chosen in each district to match the program schools as closely as possible, particularly with respect to student demographic characteristics (i.e., ethnic composition, socioeconomic status, academic achievement). Relevant information on each of the 12 program and 12 comparison schools is summarized in Table 1. To illustrate the diversity of the participating schools, a representative sampling of the program schools includes:

- An urban school with an enrollment of 433 students, 58% of whom are white, 28% African-American, and 14% Hispanic. Ten percent of the students have limited or no English proficiency, 20% are receiving Chapter 1 compensatory education services, and 27% are poor (i.e., receiving free or reduced price school lunches).
- A suburban school with an enrollment of 652 students, 75% of whom are white, 3% African-American, 4% Hispanic, and 18% Asian. All of the students are proficient in English, none receive Chapter 1 services, and only 4% are poor.
- A rural school with an enrollment of 612 students, 1% of whom are white, 93% African-American, and 6% Hispanic. Three percent of the students have limited English proficiency, 75% are receiving Chapter 1 services, and 94% are poor.

Baseline assessments were conducted in the program and comparison schools during the 1991-92 school year, prior to the introduction of CDP into the program schools in the fall of 1992. Annual assessments have been conducted during each of the subsequent two years, and will continue through the current school year (1994-95)—the third year of the program.

Sample and Assessment Procedures

The major assessment procedures include classroom observations, teacher questionnaires, and student questionnaires. All classroom teachers (n = 550-600 per year) at both the program and comparison schools are observed on four occasions

Table 1

Description of Participating Schools

School	Average Sense of Community	Percent Free or Reduced Lunch	Percent Minority	Percent LEP/NEP[a]	Percent Chapter One	Average Achievement[b]	Sample Size[c]	Total Students[d]
1	2.56	94	100	3	75	28.54	164	612
2	2.70	88	35	0	100	44.23	230	607
3	2.77	38	77	17	0	44.28	73	263
4	2.78	46	28	0	4	57.58	332	594
5	2.80	24	56	8	23	56.2	184	452
6	2.83	9	26	2	23	60.60	137	434
7	2.85	28	34	.0	0	50.59	213	517
8	2.85	95	100	2	73	24.15	119	677
9	2.89	60	79	32	49	45.82	204	892
10	2.89	77	34	0	39	38.52	165	534
11	2.92	5	60	10	33	56.44	196	600
12	2.94	46	58	19	46	50.28	258	771
13	2.95	26	64	11	32	55.57	182	487
14	2.97	74	84	22	68	35.17	100	449
15	2.98	35	53	0	22	54.09	118	386

Table 1 (continued)

School	Average Sense of Community	Percent Free or Reduced Lunch	Percent Minority	Percent LEP/NEP[a]	Percent Chapter One	Average Achievement[b]	Sample Size[c]	Total Students[d]
16	3.05	13	65	14	6	53.33	250	651
17	3.06	4	31	0	0	55.65	205	652
18	3.07	27	46	10	20	62.66	205	433
19	3.09	53	86	23	70	35.41	91	378
20	3.10	20	50	12	20	57.31	186	412
21	3.14	14	69	8	0	60.76	178	537
22	3.15	9	35	0	13	55.67	193	534
23	3.22	2	29	0	0	67.39	255	622
24	3.29	20	65	15	10	50.08	277	932
Mean	2.95	37.79	56.84	8.67	34.57	50.01	188.13	559.42
S.D.	.17	29.62	22.80	9.13	29.65	11.00	62.24	157.93

[a]Limited- or Non-English Proficient.

[b]National percentile, total battery scores on standardized norm-referenced achievement tests.

[c]Students in the upper three upper grades at the school who had parental permission to participate in the assessments.

[d]Number of students enrolled in the school.

during each school year, with each observation lasting approximately 90 minutes. All observers are trained to criterion in the use of a structured observation instrument (see Solomon, et al, under review), and are unaware that a particular program is being evaluated. The measures of classroom practices and student behavior used in the analyses described here are primarily from the classroom observations.

Teachers are also asked to complete an annual questionnaire, providing additional measures of classroom practices, as well as measures of teacher attitudes and beliefs, school climate, sense of school community for teachers, and perceived sense of school community for students.

Annual student questionnaires are administered to students in the upper three grades (grades 3-5 in four districts; grades 4-6 in two districts) who have parental consent to participate (n = 4,000-5,000 per year). The student questionnaires provide measures of students' sense of school community, school-related attitudes (e.g., liking for school), motives (e.g., task- and ego-orientation toward learning), and behavior (e.g., frequency of reading outside of school), and personal and social attitudes (e.g., sense of efficacy, concern for others), motives (e.g., intrinsic motivation for prosocial behavior), values (e.g., democratic values), and behavior (e.g., altruistic behavior). (A more complete description of the student questionnaire measures may be found in Battistich et al, in press.) Data on students' academic performance are provided from district-administered achievement tests, and by a performance measure of writing and reading comprehension given to students in the top elementary grade (fifth or sixth).

Results and Discussion

Preliminary Evidence of Overall Effects on Participating Teachers

As an initial look at program effectiveness, we simply examined changes in teachers' reported classroom practices, attitudes, and perceptions of school climate over the three year period from baseline through the second program year. Mean scores of program and comparison teachers on these variables are presented in Table 2.

Analyses of these data indicated a variety of statistically significant program effects. Program teachers' reported classroom use of cooperative learning, class meetings, activities to enhance students' interpersonal understanding, and provision for student autonomy and influence in the classroom all increased significantly over the three years, relative to comparison teachers, and their use of extrinsic incentives declined significantly (Multivariate Status x Year Interaction, F (10,277) = 22.05, $p < .001$; Univariate F's (2,284) > 4.25, p's < .01). Relative to comparison teachers, program

Table 2

Changes in Reported Attitudes and Practices from Baseline Through Program Year 2

Variable	School Status	Year		
		Baseline	Year 1	Year 2
Classroom Practices[a]				
Student Collaborative Work*	Program	3.31	3.54	3.58
	Comparison	3.31	3.41	3.37
Class Meetings***	Program	3.09	3.48	3.48
	Comparison	2.96	3.01	3.03
Social Understanding Activities***	Program	3.40	3.82	3.79
	Comparison	3.50	3.49	3.51
Student Autonomy and Influence***	Program	2.86	3.20	3.29
	Comparison	2.80	2.93	2.91
Use of Extrinsic Control***	Program	2.54	1.91	1.81
	Comparison	3.07	3.02	2.92
Teacher Attitudes[b]				
Emphasis on Teacher Authority	Program	2.38	2.25	2.23
	Comparison	2.52	2.47	2.48
Belief in Constructivist Learning*	Program	4.17	4.30	4.31
	Comparison	4.05	4.16	4.08
Trust in Students**	Program	3.34	3.59	3.58
	Comparison	3.19	3.19	3.19
Control Ideology**	Program	6.94	7.95	7.68
	Comparison	6.46	6.52	6.14
Sense of Efficacy as a Teacher	Program	3.97	4.00	4.01
	Comparison	3.95	3.99	3.99

Table 2 (cont.)

Job Satisfaction	Program	3.89	3.90	3.90
	Comparison	3.99	3.92	3.92
Enjoyment of Teaching	Program	4.24	4.21	4.22
	Comparison	4.22	4.19	4.10
School Climate				
Positive Relations Among Students	Program	3.39	3.55	3.50
	Comparison	3.55	3.58	3.65
Principal Supportiveness	Program	4.19	4.19	4.21
	Comparison	4.08	4.11	4.10
Parent Supportiveness	Program	3.51	3.50	3.54
	Comparison	3.69	3.69	3.68
Positive Teacher-Student Relations	Program	3.89	4.04	4.06
	Comparison	3.95	3.99	3.98
Sense of School Community[c]				
Teacher Collegiality**	Program	3.76	3.87	3.93
	Comparison	3.87	3.92	3.80
Shared Goals and Values Among Staff**	Program	3.84	3.86	3.94
	Comparison	3.76	3.89	3.72
Teacher Participation in School Planning and Decision-Making	Program	3.99	3.92	3.97
	Comparison	3.68	3.80	3.78

[a]Multivariate School Status x Year Interaction $p < .001$.

[b]Multivariate School Status x Year Interaction $p < .03$.

[c]Multivariate School Status x Year Interaction $p < .001$.

Univariate School Status x Year Interaction: $^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

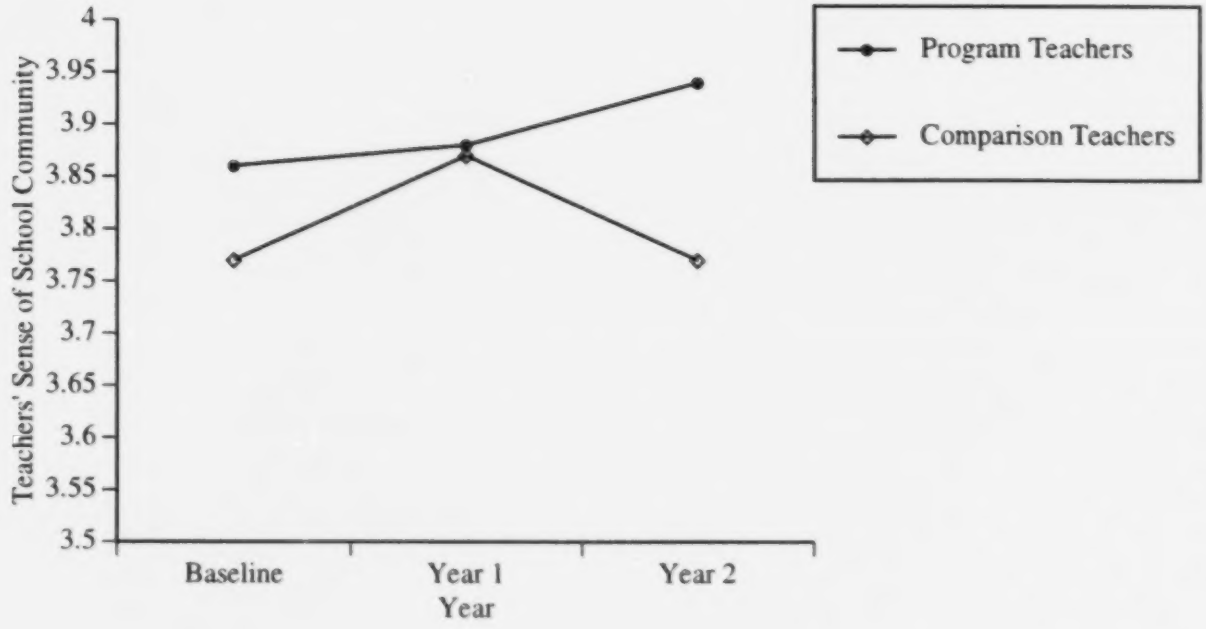
teachers' belief in constructivist learning (F (2,284) = 3.42, $p < .04$), trust in students (F (2,284) = 6.71, $p < .002$), and tendencies to provide students with greater choice and autonomy in solving problems (i.e., "control ideology"—F (2,284) = 6.02, $p < .004$) all increased significantly from baseline. There were no significant differences between program and comparison teachers in changes over time for emphasis on teacher authority (both groups declined), sense of efficacy as a teacher, job satisfaction, or enjoyment of teaching.

There also were no significant differential changes in most aspects of perceived school climate (e.g., positive relations among students, parent supportiveness) over the three year period (Multivariate Status x Year Interaction, F (8,279) = 1.62, $p = .12$). However, program teachers' sense of the school as a community for teachers (i.e., teacher collegiality, shared goals and values, and teacher participation in school planning and decision-making) increased significantly from baseline, relative to comparison teachers (Multivariate Status x Year Interaction, F (6,280) = 4.37, $p < .001$). This is illustrated in Figure 1.

The overall goal of the CDP program is to help schools to become "caring communities of learners." The sense of the school as a community is thus the critical mediating variable in our model of program effects. Previous work by both ourselves (Battistich et al., 1994, in press; Hom & Battistich, 1995; Solomon et al., 1992, under review) and several other investigators (e.g., Arhar & Kromrey, 1993; Bryk & Driscoll, 1988; Goodenow, 1993) has provided considerable evidence that the sense of school community is positively associated with a wide range of "outcomes" for teachers and students. These include, for teachers, higher morale and greater satisfaction with teaching, both a stronger sense of efficacy and greater desire to improve as a teacher, higher expectations for student learning, and more trust in students. For students, sense of school community has been found to be associated with greater liking for school, more trust in and respect for teachers, higher educational expectations and aspirations, stronger achievement motivation and greater academic effort, fewer absences, and better academic performance, as well as more positive social attitudes and more prosocial behavior, a stronger sense of efficacy, and decreased levels of drug use and delinquent behaviors.

Although the findings from the still relatively small number of studies of school community are strikingly consistent, they are largely correlational and have been focused on examining the *effects* of community. Much less research attention has been directed toward identifying the *determinants* of school community. The findings

Figure 1. Changes in Teachers' Sense of the School as a Community from Baseline Through Program Year 2.



presented above showed significant positive effects on teachers' sense of the school as a community through the second program year. In the remainder of this presentation, we will summarize the findings from two related sets of analyses. The first used structural equations modeling techniques (e.g., Bentler, 1992) to examine hypothesized relationships between classroom activities and practices and *students'* sense of community. These analyses constitute an initial test of the validity of the conceptual model for the CDP program. The second set of analyses, also using structural equations modeling, assessed the impact of participating in CDP on classroom practices, students' sense of community, and several student outcome variables.

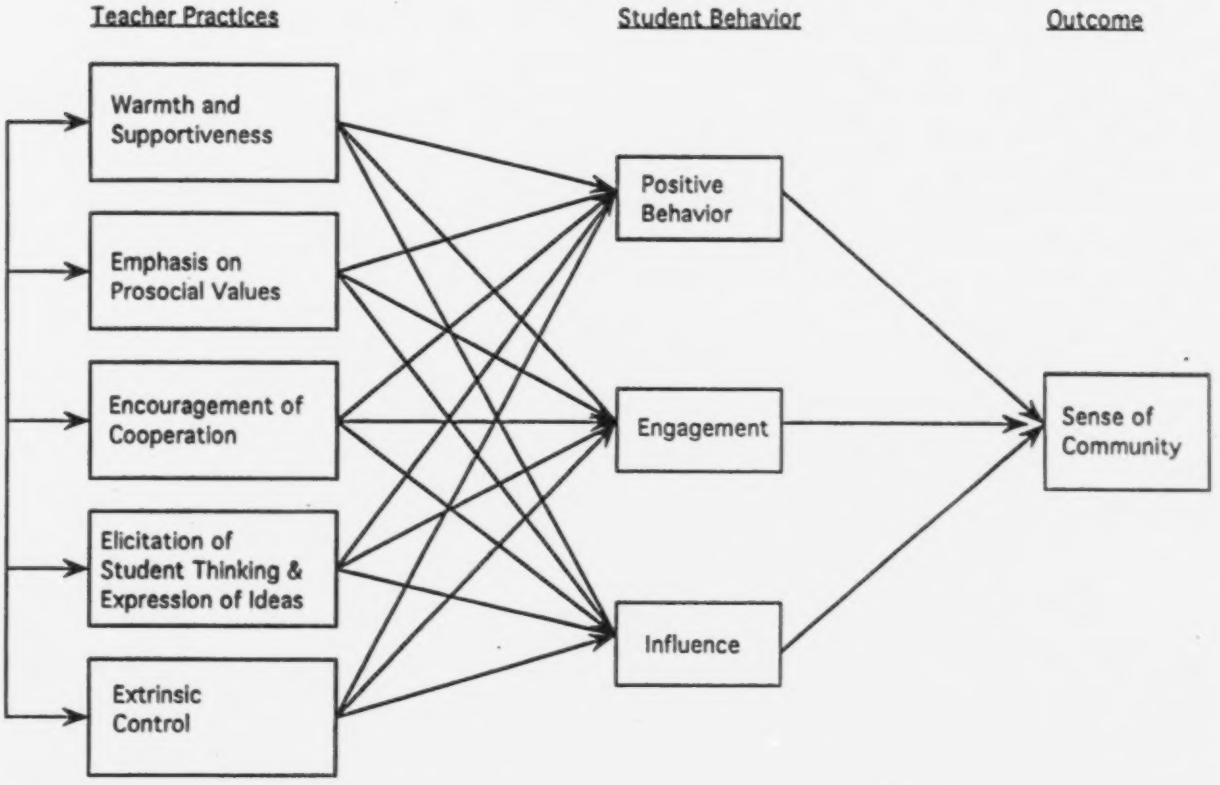
Classroom Practices Associated with Students' Sense of Community

Our hypothesized model of the relationships between classroom practices, student classroom behavior, and students' sense of school community is shown in Figure 2. The model asserts that program-relevant practices have direct positive effects on student behavior in the classroom, which, in turn, has direct positive effects on students' sense of community.

We tested this structural model using baseline data from the 24 participating schools. Classroom practices and student classroom behavior were measured using multi-item scales derived from the classroom observations. Sense of community was assessed using a multi-item scale from the student questionnaires, aggregated to the classroom level. All measures have adequate to excellent reliability. (See Solomon et al., under review, for more detailed information, including data on convergent and discriminant validity.)

Program-relevant classroom practices were represented by five scales: *Teacher Warmth and Supportiveness*, *Emphasis on Prosocial Values* (e.g., teacher mentions, discusses, encourages, or emphasizes prosocial values; teacher helps students explore moral/prosocial values), *Encouragement of Cooperation*, *Elicitation of Student Thinking and Expression of Ideas* (e.g., teacher asks for inferences/hypotheses; teacher emphasis on thinking/reasoning; teacher encourages students to follow-up on each others' ideas); and *Extrinsic Control* (e.g., teacher use of rewards, grades, points, punishments; pervasivenesss of teacher's control over students). Extrinsic control is expected to be negatively related to student classroom behavior; the other four measures are expected to have positive relationships with student behavior.

Figure 2. Hypothetical Model Linking Teacher Practices, Student Behavior, and Sense of Community



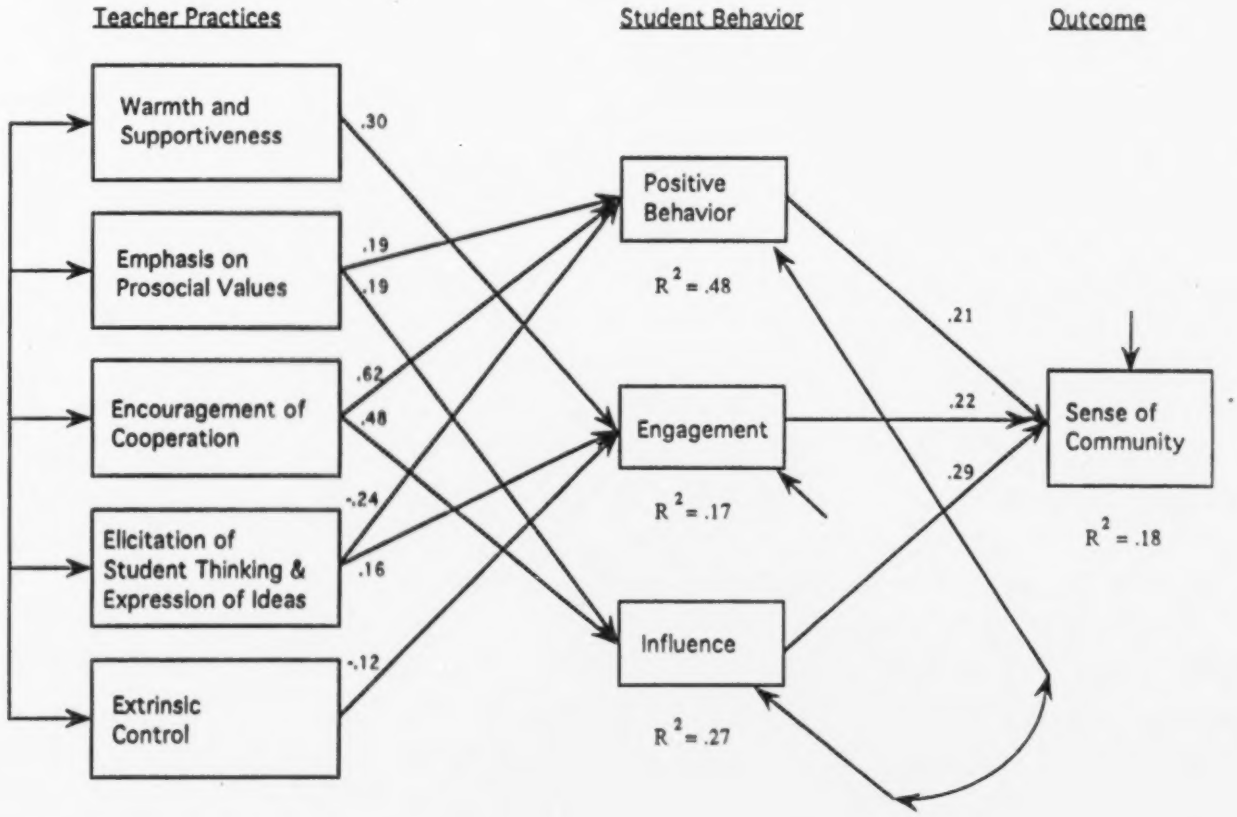
Student classroom behavior was represented by three scales: *Positive Behavior Among Students* (e.g., student helpfulness; student friendliness), *Student Engagement* (e.g., student active participation in learning, on-task behavior), and *Student Influence* (e.g., teacher gives students choice of activities; students participate in planning). All three student behavior measures are expected to be positively related to students' sense of school community.

The questionnaire measure of students' sense of school community includes two major components: (a) caring, collaborative, and supportive relationships among students (e.g., "students in my class work together to solve problems," "students in this class really care about one another," "my classmates care about my work just as much as their own"), and (b) student autonomy and decision-making in the classroom (e.g., "the teacher lets me choose what I will work on," "in my class the teacher and students decide together what the rules will be").

The findings from a path analysis of this proposed structural model are summarized in Figure 3. The structural model was found to provide an excellent fit to the data ($\chi^2(14) = 9.28$, $p = .81$, Comparative Fit Index [CFI; Bentler, 1990] = 1.00). The significant path coefficients are shown in Figure 3. As predicted, each of the classroom practice measures is significantly associated with one or more of the measures of student classroom behavior, each of which, in turn, are significantly associated with students' sense of community.

Of particular interest was the extent to which this pattern of relationships held across schools with student populations differing in poverty level. The deleterious effects of poverty on students' school experience and academic performance are well known, and the classroom practices commonly believed to be effective for use with disadvantaged, low achieving students are quite different from those of the CDP program. Because the 24 participating schools varied greatly in the poverty-levels of their student populations (ranging from 2% to 95% of students receiving subsidized school lunches), we had the opportunity to examine whether the relationships between classroom practices, student behavior, and sense of community were the same across levels of poverty. We therefore divided the sample into a "low poverty" (range: 2-28% poor students) and a "high poverty" group (range: 35-95% poor students), and used multiple groups structural modeling to explicitly test the hypothesis that all path coefficients and covariances in the model were identical in these two groups. This hypothesis was supported ($\chi^2(43) = 54.06$, $p = .12$, CFI = .997), indicating that use of

Figure 3. Modified Path Model with Standardized Parameters; Invariant Path Coefficients Across High and Low Poverty Groups



CDP-relevant practices had the same effects on student behavior and, through behavior, on sense of community among both high- and low-poverty student populations (even though the *mean level* of the sense of community was significantly lower for students in the high than the low poverty schools (with respective means of 2.79 and 2.98, a t value of 4.73 [$p<.001$], and a difference effect size of .63).

Impact of Participating in CDP on Classroom Practices and Student Outcomes

Having some evidence that the general patterns of relationships predicted by the model were consistent with the observed relationships in the data, we next turned to estimating the effects of participating in CDP on classroom practices and student outcomes.

Average changes from baseline through program year 2 on the observational indices of teacher practices and student classroom behavior are summarized in Table 3. The general pattern is consistent with the hypothesis of improvements at program schools, relative to the comparison schools, in both teacher practices (Multivariate Status x Year Interaction, F (10,406) = 2.79, $p < .003$) and student classroom behavior (Multivariate Status x Year Interaction, F (6,410) = 3.56, $p < .003$), although the mean differences generally are small and few of the univariate tests are statistically significant. Of course, these "study wide" analyses mask variability among teachers in the degree to which practices have changed (which we know to be considerable);[1] it is effects on processes and outcomes at the classroom level that are of most interest in the structural modeling analyses.

In the earlier analyses, we included each of the five teacher practice measures and the three student behavior measures as separate indicators because we wanted to examine whether, in fact, each had significant effects. However, within the context of CDP, the five teacher measures form a coherent set of practices, overlapping both with what has been called "democratic" teaching (e.g., Angell, 1991) and with "constructivist" teaching (e.g., DeVries & Zan, 1994). Similarly, the three student behavior measures are positively correlated and all have positive relationships with sense of community. Consequently, in the next analyses, we modeled the five teacher practice variables as

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[1] As an illustration of this variability, we asked the DSC staff developers to identify, during the 1993-94 school year, the teachers they felt were doing the best job of implementing CDP in their classrooms. The 30 teachers they identified generally showed more change in the observation indices than the other program school teachers. An example of this for *Encouragement of Cooperation* is shown in Figure 4.

Table 3

Changes in Observed Classroom Practices from Baseline Through Program Year 2 (Variables Standardized Within Year)

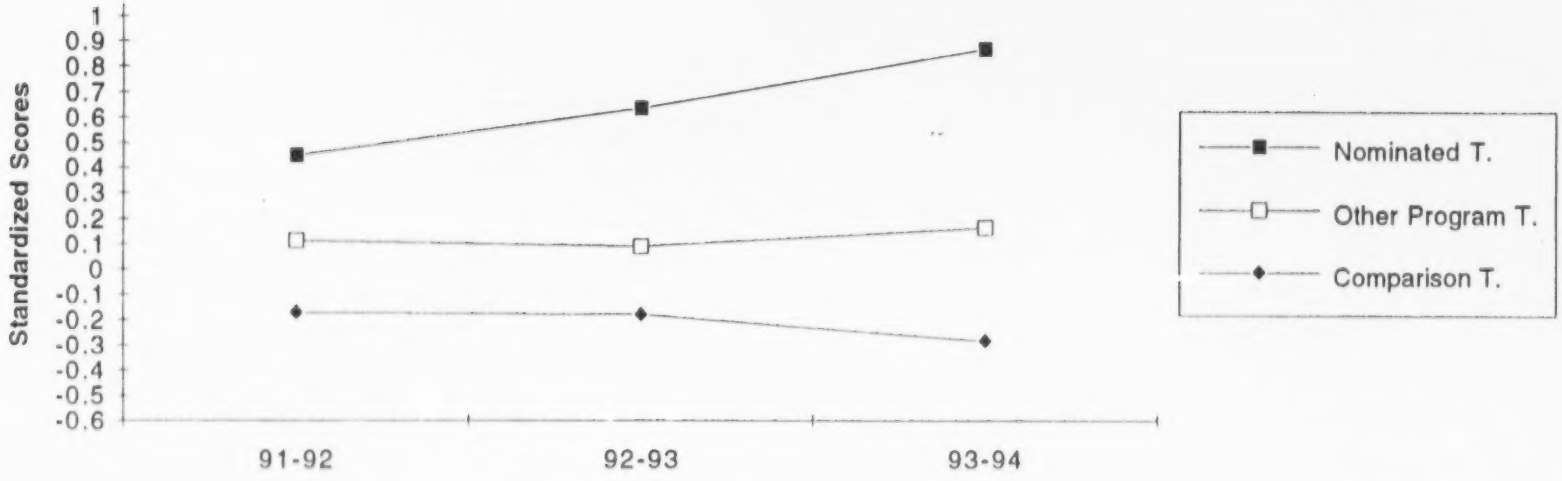
Variable	School Status	Year		
		Baseline	Year 1	Year 2
Teacher Practices				
Warmth and Supportiveness	Program	51.52	50.74	50.26
	Comparison	48.49	49.21	49.78
Emphasis on Prosocial Values	Program	50.79	50.69	51.30
	Comparison	49.16	49.27	48.62
Encouragement of Cooperation+	Program	51.61	51.67	52.66
	Comparison	48.28	48.22	47.17
Elicitation of Student Thinking and Expression of Ideas	Program	50.36	50.79	50.49
	Comparison	49.61	49.16	49.48
Extrinsic Control**	Program	48.66	47.60	47.43
	Comparison	51.43	52.55	52.73
Student Behavior				
Positive Behavior	Program	50.80	50.58	50.91
	Comparison	49.15	49.38	49.03
Engagement	Program	50.71	50.52	49.49
	Comparison	49.24	49.45	50.54
Influence**	Program	52.39	53.68	53.91
	Comparison	47.45	46.08	45.84

Note. Multivariate School Status x Year Interactions $p < .003$ for both teacher classroom practices and student classroom behavior.

Univariate School Status x Year Interaction: $^{+}p < .10$ $^{**}p < .01$

Figure 4.

Encouragement of Cooperation



measured indicators of a single "latent" classroom practice factor, and the three student behavior measures as measured indicators of a single latent student behavior factor. Students' sense of school community, on the other hand, continued to be modeled as a single, measured variable.

Because we are interested in assessing *changes* in practices, behavior, and outcomes due to CDP, we also controlled for baseline differences in these next analyses. We tested the effect of program participation by estimating a path from a dichotomous indicator of program status (0 = comparison, 1 = program) to classroom practices in the second program year (with baseline practices controlled), and tested the effect on the student outcome variables by estimating a path from sense of community to the measured outcome (with outcome scores at baseline controlled).

We should note that we have only recently begun these "effect analyses," and have only conducted analyses for a relatively small number of student outcome variables so far (thirteen variables, for which significant effects were found for 8 or about 60% of the outcomes examined; see Figure 5). Once again, then, the findings are to be regarded as preliminary and tentative.

A summary of the findings from one of these analyses, showing the complete measurement model and the estimated baseline effects, is presented in Figure 5. This same basic model was examined for each of the student outcomes separately.

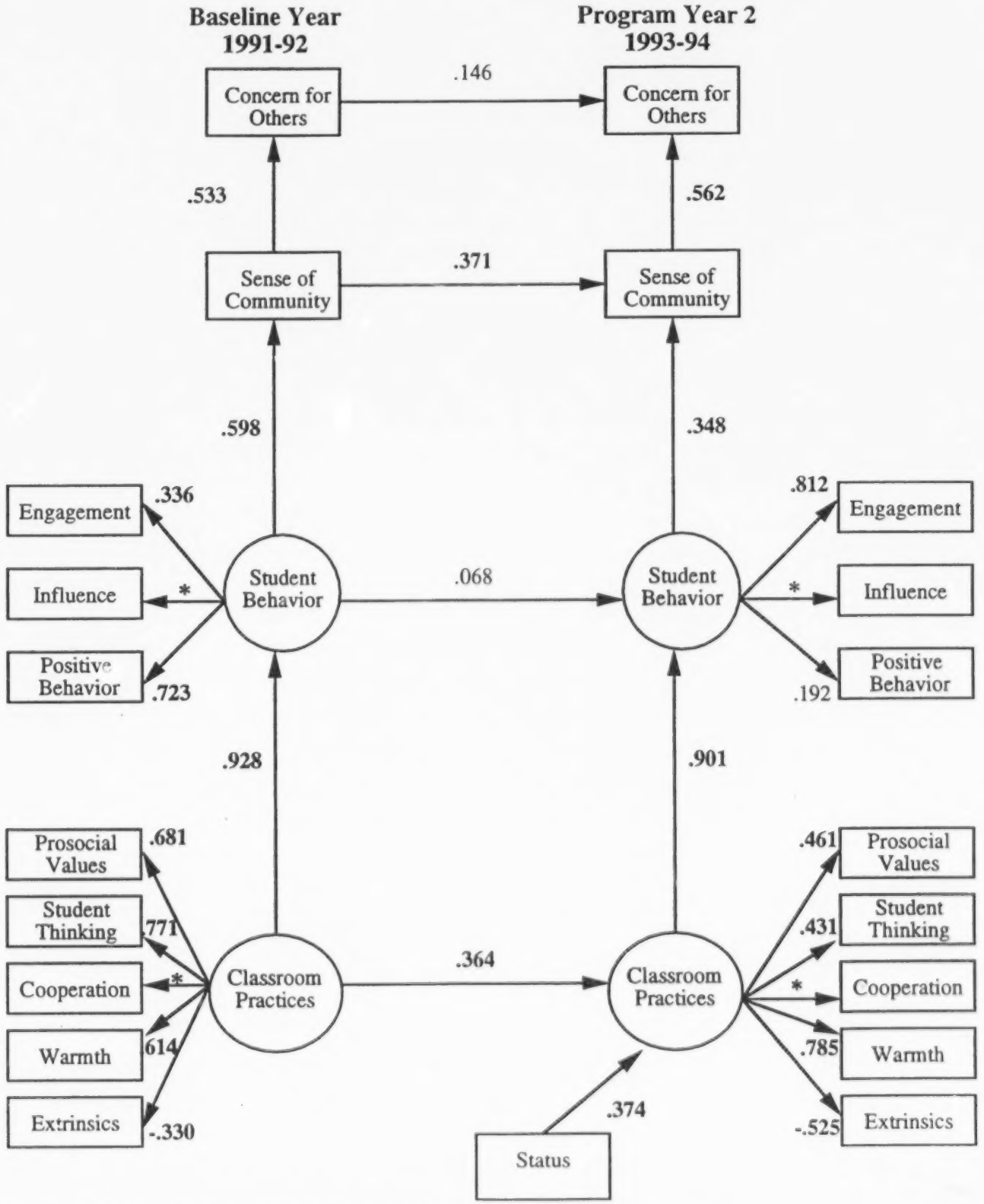
A summary of the findings from these analyses is presented in Figure 6. For simplicity, neither the measurement model nor the baseline effects are shown in the figure, and paths to eight outcome variables are shown in the figure, although each of these paths was actually estimated in a separate analysis.

As indicated, participation in CDP had a significant positive effect on teachers' classroom practices and, mediated through positive effects on student classroom behavior and sense of school community, on each of the eight outcome variables.

General Discussion

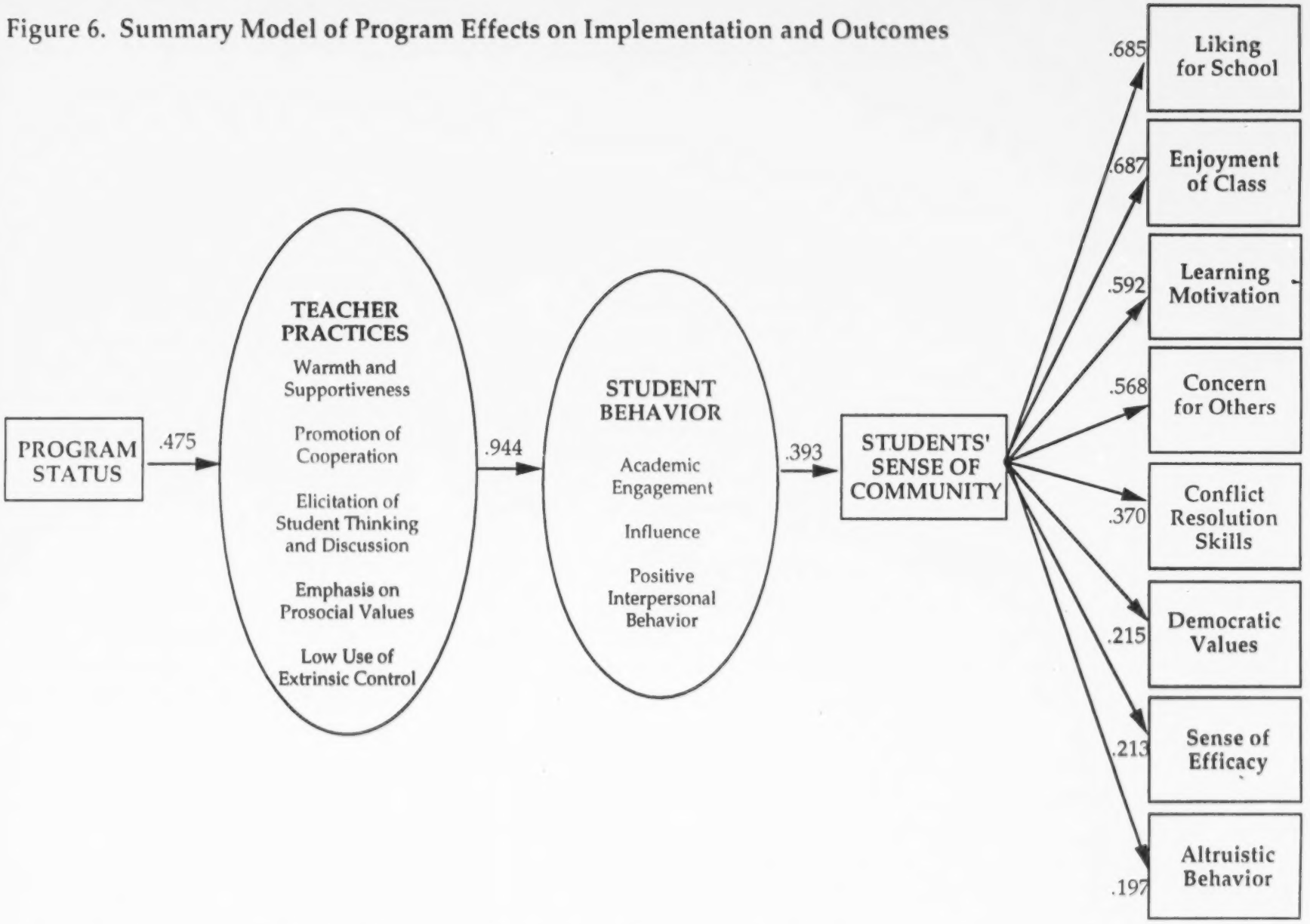
Although we are only beginning to examine even the interim effects of CDP, we are encouraged by the results so far. The general relationships predicted by our conceptual model appear to be quite consistent with the relationships observed in the data, and we have some suggestive evidence that participation in CDP has had a positive impact on classroom practices and student outcomes by the end of the second year of the program. Participation in CDP also seems to already have had a number of significant positive effects on teacher attitudes and their sense of the school as a community.

Figure 5. Complete Structural Model for Effects on Concern for Others.



Note. Coefficients in bold are statistically at $p < .05$. CFI = .989.
*Coefficient fixed at 1.o for identification purposes.

Figure 6. Summary Model of Program Effects on Implementation and Outcomes



Note. All paths are statistically significant at $p < .05$. Baseline differences in classroom practices and student outcomes are statistically controlled.

One important point to keep in mind is that the "effects" model we have examined is at the classroom level. Although this is the appropriate unit of analysis for examining effects on classroom practices, it ignores variability within classrooms in student outcomes (i.e., the path coefficients in Figure 4 are estimated effects on the average outcome scores for all students in a class). A multi-level analysis representing the nesting of students within classrooms would be more appropriate. Similarly, classrooms are nested within schools, and this also is ignored in the classroom-level analyses. Yet, contextual and compositional effects are likely to be particularly important in this project, where the unit of change is the school and the greatest variations in implementation will be between schools and between classrooms within schools. Adequately representing such influences in empirical analyses will require developing and estimating models that are considerably more complex than those examined here. Indeed, estimating a conceptual model of adequate complexity will strain, and may well exceed the limits of the statistical "tools" currently available, but the attempt will undoubtedly yield a fuller and richer understanding of the change effort.

Structural modeling is a complex undertaking, and that is particularly true in this case. Our analyses to date should properly be regarded as relatively crude first approximations, and there are a large number of substantive and methodological issues that have yet to be dealt with. Our preliminary results clearly suggest that we are on the "right track," but we still have quite a ways to go before we can reach any definitive conclusions about the outcomes of this work.

If the current year's data continue to show the trends that are evident so far, there will be clear evidence that our training of trainers approach to staff development has been effective, that the program has generally been successful in enhancing the sense of community in classrooms and schools, and that the sense of community—as suggested in our theoretical model—is a factor that strongly enhances students' social, ethical, and intellectual development.

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